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Spring Conference 1983

At the last annual general meeting of the Society a majority of members indicated their preference for hotel accommodation rather than University hostels for the Spring Conferences.

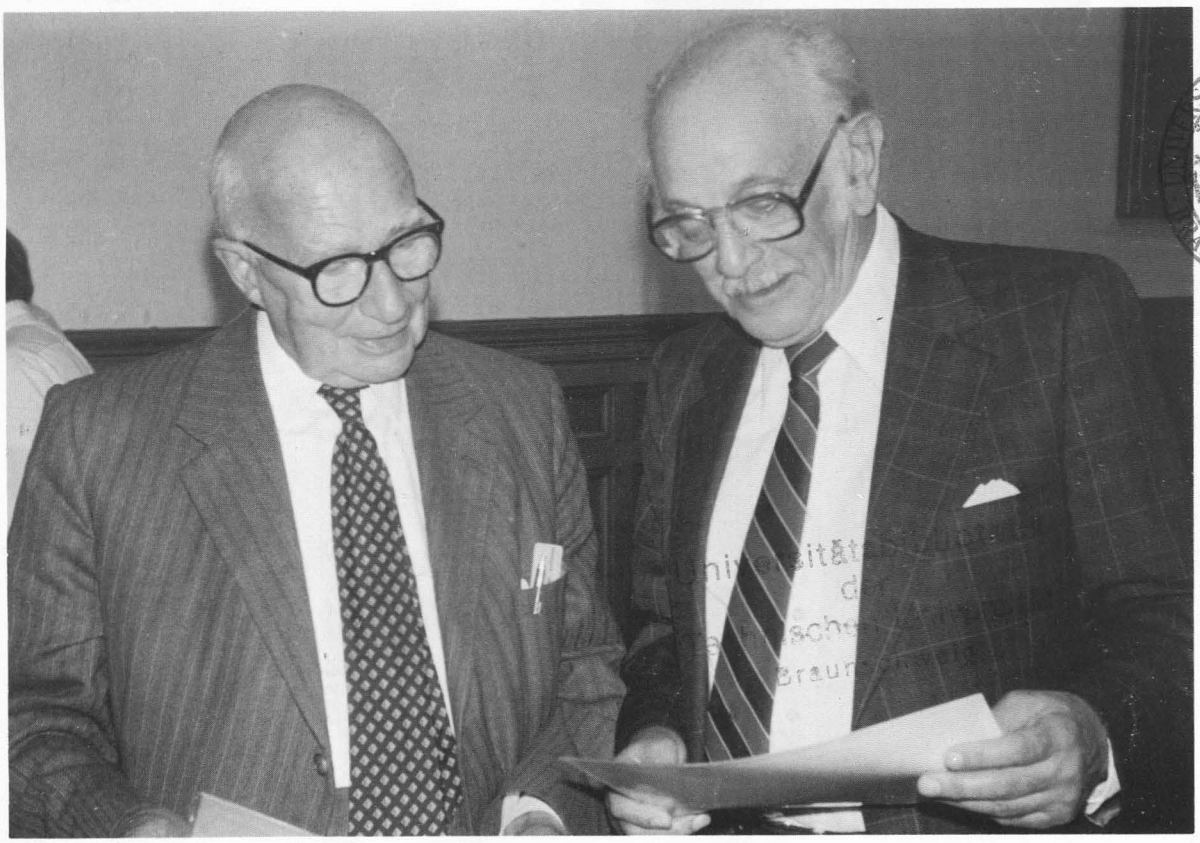
Accordingly the 1983 conference will be held in The Seabank Hotel, Porthcawl on April 15 - 17 inclusive.

The hotel has a 3 star RAC rating, with 80 bedrooms, 42 "en suite" and 12 family suites. All bedrooms have colour televisions and telephones and there are special bedrooms for the disabled. There is a car park for 150 cars. The nearest railway station is Bridgend, and the remaining 6 or 7 miles can be completed by bus or taxi.

Details of the programme and the cost will be sent to members shortly.

Diary

April 28 — Foundation Lecture — Dr. T. D. Whittet to speak on "The Crown and Anchor".



Honorary Members: C. G. Drummond and Professor D. L. Cowen admire their honorary membership certificates — see *Pharmaceutical Historian* Dec. 1982.

https://doi.org/10.24355/dbbs.084-201802191019

Sight Improvers and Eye Massagers

By W. A. JACKSON

In 1851, Dr. Ball first patented his 'Eye Cups' in the U.S.A. These were cups made from either lignum vitae or ivory, to which were attached hollow indiarubber balls. In use, some air was squeezed from the ball, the cup applied to the eye (with the lid closed), and the pressure on the ball was released. The resulting negative pressure held the cup in place over the eye, and was said to cause a proper amount of blood to flow through the eye, and restore the diminished convexity of the cornea. It was recommended that they were used for three minutes at night before retiring. The sole agent for these cups in Great Britain was J. Fletcher of Richmond Villa, Chichester, Sussex. They were protected by further American patents in 1865 and 1869.

Benjamin Fredenburgh Stephens of Brooklyn, who was a hydraulic engineer, claimed to have found that the pressure produced on the cornea by these cups was disadvantageous, and took out patents for an instrument which was designed to overcome this problem. (Patented: U.S.A. — February and May, 1899, Great Britain — April, 1899 (Patent No. 7501), and Canada — March, 1900). The most important difference from Ball's Eye Cups was the provision of a button in the bottom of each cup. These had a concave surface approximately corresponding to the convexity of the cornea, and were held against the eyelid by means of a spring. The button projected slightly from the bottom of the cup and the patent claimed that in use, "this button yields, but at the same time applies upon the cornea a sufficient pressure to aid in restoring the cornea to a normal shape and to lessen the risk of said cornea remaining out of shape from over exertion of the eye or from extraneous circumstances." In addition, instead of the two cups being used independantly, they were provided with a single rubber bulb for controlling the suction applied. This was connected to the eye cups by two tubular curved branches in such a way that they were normally the same distance apart as the eyes are in the head. This distance could be adjusted for the individual by means of a tubular nut with interior right and left screw threads, into which ran a screw attached to the collar of each cup, one with a right and the other with a left thread. The original patent suggests that two of these nuts be fitted, and that when correctly adjusted, they should be fastened by a clamp to prevent their being moved accidentally.

The device was marketed as 'The Ideal Sight Restorer' by The Ideal Company of 134, West 65th Street, New York. Some years ago, I had the opportunity of examining one in the Wellcome

Left: *Ideal Sight Restorer.* **Right:** *Lignum vitae eye cup. Photograph from the Wellcome Library by courtesy of the Trustees.*

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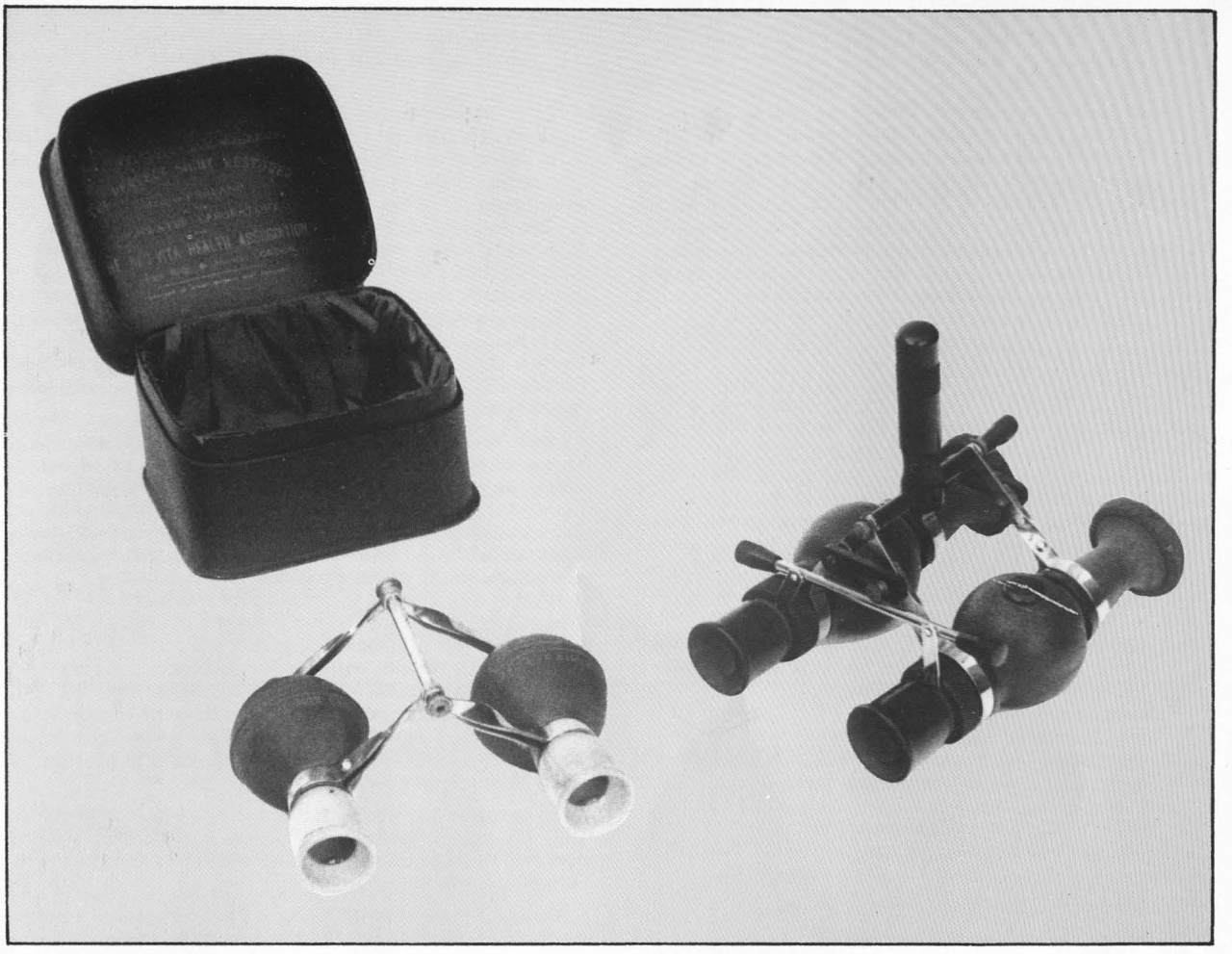

Left: *Neu-Vita Eye Masseur.* **Right:** *Neu-Vita Oculizer.*

Collection. That specimen had only one set of adjusting screws and nut — probably to reduce the cost significantly without any great loss of efficiency.

In 1911, British Patent No. 2815 for 'Improvements in Eye -Massaging or Cupping Appliances' was granted to John Highwater, who described himself as a Mechano-Therapeutist, of Exchange Buildings, 24, Southwark Street, London. In his apparatus, each eye cup was provided with its own bulb, each of which had a valve with a push-button for regulating the pressure or partial vacuum to be applied. This is the first reference I have found to the use of positive pressure in treating the eyes with these instruments. The interaxial distance between the cups was adjusted by a pair of links or frames pivotally mounted on a central distance piece. (The same principle is commonly used to adjust a pair of binoculars). A nut at each end of the distance piece could be tightened to fix the links rigidly when positioned correctly. No provision is made for spring-loaded buttons in the eye cups.

The 'Neu-Vita Eye Masseur' illustrated was made in England by The Highwater Laboratory for The Neu-Vita Health Association of Exchange Building, Southwark, London. It varies from the above specification in not having a push-button on each valve for altering the pressure or partial vacuum to be applied, and in the presence of a movable button in the base of each eye cup.

A further British patent (No. 363,101) for an 'Improved Apparatus for Massaging the Eyes' was granted to Leonard Russel Lacy of 78, Central Buildings, Southwark Street, London in December, 1931. The specification is for an instrument similar to the 'Neu-Vita Eye Masseur' described above (with buttons in the eye cups, but without adjusters on the air-bulb valves), but with the addition of two eye cups of soft indiarubber which could be used for frictional massage of the eyeballs. These were mounted on the opposite side of the pneumatic bulbs to the pressure cups, but were of solid construction and could not be pressurised. As an alternative form of treatment to that previously available, these solid cups were placed on the eyeballs and rotated about their axes to administer frictional massage with a circular motion. Another minor difference was that the buttons in the pressure cups were no longer spring-loaded, being controlled only by air pressure from the pneumatic bulbs.

The 'Neu-Vita Oculizer' which bears the above patent number has two refinements which were not in the original specification. In order to facilitate its use for frictional massage, a handle has been mounted on the central distance piece which separates the adjusting links, and a toggle bar is attached to the collars round the bases of the pressurised eye cups. In use, the friction cups were held against the eyelids, one hand being used to support the apparatus by means of the handle, and the other to push the toggle bar to and fro, rotating each half of the instrument about its own axis in alternate directions.

I was sufficiently curious to use the 'Oculizer' myself on one occasion and suffered appreciable discomfort for some hours afterwards. In spite of their continued use for approximately a hundred years, there seems to be little evidence that such treatment was of any practical value, and may have been positively harmful in some cases.

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Some West County Quakers

By MARGARET H. PHILLIPS

The early Quaker apothecaries were the roots from which sprang many different branches. Some, like Sylvanus and Timothy Bevan, the Allens, Ransomes, Howards and Albrights, founded pharmaceutical manufacturing concerns; some like Joseph Fry and William Cookworthy, established different, though often allied, manufacturing companies; some, like Fothergill, Lettsom, Knowles and Hodgkin, became famous physicians; some were great botanists like Woodville of London and Curtis of Alton; some stayed in their apothecaries' shops, becoming chemists and druggists; among these were Joseph Clutton and his successor, Thomas Corbyn of Holborn, Frederick Smith of Haymarket, John and Jacob Bell, and the Balkwills of Plymouth; and some practised all their lives as apothecaries and doctors in country districts and towns.

Such an apothecary was John Till Adams of Bristol. Born in 1748, Adams was descended from the Tills of Whitgreave, Staffs. He married, in 1777, Ann Fry, daughter of William and Hannah Fry of Bristol. He is described as "a talented young Quaker physician, a patron of virtue, truly admired and pious." His early death in 1786, at the age of 38, was the subject of several elegies written by his friends. One of them describes his

"Sweet humility in look and mind,
A soul most noble, and his nature kind;
Who languished with disease to be relieved
For these, his breast with mutual pity heaved,
And often, though they could not give him pay,
From their affliction would not turn away
But like the Good Samaritan we read,
Provide for them and their complaints with speed".

Adams was buried in Bristol, and there is a monument to him there.

Among Bristol apothecaries in the late 16th and early 17th centuries were Quakers James Freeman and William Logan. Friends were disowned for "marrying out" of the Society, which was consequently very close-knit, with much inter-marriage. This makes it possible to trace relationships between most of the great Quaker families in medicine and pharmacy. James Freeman was in practice in Bristol in 1683, at about the time when Benjamin Freeman was practising as an apothecary at Westminster, so it is possible that these two were related. One of the most frequent causes of persecution of the Quakers was the non-payment of tithes, which were against Quaker principles of equality, as well as providing, in the case of ecclesiastical tithes, a livelihood for paid priests, of whom the Quakers disapproved. Punishment for non-payment usually took for form of fines or distraint on the offender's goods and the tools of his trade. Benjamin Freeman of Westminster was frequently fined for attending meetings and preaching, and in 1682 he is recorded as "having all his goods taken from him, being eight porters' loads, valued at £30."

Dr. William Logan (1686-1757) was the brother of James Logan, a celebrated botanist and naturalist who was living in Bristol in 1698, but in 1699 went to Pennsylvania as secretary to William Penn. William Logan was a physician who practised in Bristol and kept up a regular correspondence with his brother on scientific subjects. James' son William known as Billy, was born in Philadelphia, but was sent to England to study medicine and probably stayed at times with his uncle William in Bristol, because before graduating at Edinburgh, Billy eloped with Sarah Portsmouth, daughter of a prominent non-Quaker Bristol physician. They were married "by a priest", probably at Gretna Green. The elopement caused Billy to be temporarily disowned by the Society of Friends, but he repented and was re-admitted at the next Edinburgh Meeting, when Sarah was also admitted as a convert. John Fothergill said of Billy, that he was "vain, conceited of his abilities, thinks he is equal to all emergencies, superior to every difficulty", and entreated him to "think more humbly of himself and to shun as much as possible administering offence to his brothers of the Faculty." Soon after graduating, Billy returned with his young wife to Philadelphia to practice surgery, but only a year later he died, leaving a widow and infant son.

One of the best-known of the Bristol Quakers was Joseph Fry, founder of the Bristol cocoa and chocolate industry. Joseph was born at Sutton Benger, Wiltshire, the son of John and Mary (Storrs) Fry. In 1762 or 3 he married Anna Portsmouth, daughter of Henry Portsmouth, a Quaker apothecary of Basingstoke. Joseph settled in Bristol and began to practice medicine, but changed to the manufacture of chocolate, which he had been used to prescribing as a dietary item. He is said to have found its manufacture more lucrative than the practice of medicine. He also became a partner in the soap-boiling firm which eventually became Lever Bros. He was also interested in type-founding, and in the manufacture of porcelain, in which industry he partnered his brother Richard. He was succeeded in the chocolate business by his son, Joseph Storrs Fry. A descendant, another Joseph Storrs Fry, was a Freeman of Bristol and for some time president and treasurer of the Bristol General Hospital. He died in 1913.

Another Quaker apothecary, Edward Ash, was born in Bristol in 1797. He married Caroline Fry of London in 1826. He moved to Norwich, where he practised medicine until 1837, when he retired to Bristol, where he died in 1873.

Just as the closeness of the Society led to inter-marriage between the Quaker families, it also led them to take other Quakers as business associates, and to send their children to Quakers to be educated and as pupils and apprentices. Joseph Fry's interest in porcelain no doubt sprang from his friendship with William Cookworthy, of Plymouth, founder of the English porcelain industry. Cookworthy, son of a Quaker family in Devonshire, was sent to London in 1719 as apprentice to Sylvanus Bevan, returning to Plymouth as partner in a business established there by the Bevan brothers. His project for the manufacture of porcelain from china-clay was started in Devonshire, but moved to Bristol in 1770, to be nearer the coal for the furnaces. Four years later Cookworthy handed over the business to his associate, Richard Champion. Meanwhile, Cookworthy had retained his partnership in the apothecary's shop at Plymouth, where he was joined by his brother Philip after the Bevan brothers withdrew in 1746.

Nearly 40 years later, an apprentice in the Cookworthy business was Benjamin Balkwill. Benjamin left at the end of his apprenticeship, but returned in 1795. In 1800, he married Elizabeth Hancock, and their son, Joseph Hancock Balkwill, eventually joined his father in the business. Another Balkwill, George, probably Joseph's cousin, was apprenticed to his uncle William Balkwill, who was a druggist but not a Quaker. George discovered after two days that his master was adulterating drugs, and, true to his Quaker principles of honesty and fair dealing, immediately left and returned to Plymouth, where he entered the family business.

Contemporary with Cookworthy was Joseph Fox, apothecary and physician of Fowey, Cornwall, who was born in 1729. As well as his apothecary's practice, Joseph owned shares in two Cornish ships which were fitted out as privateers. One of his descendants, Alexander Fox, son of another Joseph, was a physician and surgeon

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who moved from Falmouth to Plymouth and thence to London, where he and his wife were mainly responsible for the founding of the North Eastern Hospital for Children, Hackney Road, before emigrating to New Zealand.

In 1698, a more unusual Quaker apothecary was born in Wiltshire. He was John Rutty, who obtained an M.D. at Leyden in 1723, then moved to Dublin, where he spent the rest of his life in practice among the poor. He was a prolific writer. He published books on natural history and materia medica, and on the medicinal value of mineral springs. Rutty was an active Friend, but showed an introspection and spirituality typical of the "quietist" period of the Quakers. He published posthumously, a "Spiritual Diary" which amused James Boswell and Dr. Johnson. It was a "minute and honest register" of his own faults, which included "staying in bed too long, snappish on fasting, doggish on provocation, and too great a love for studies of materia medica and meteorology". He died, unmarried, in rented rooms in Dublin, in 1775.

Five years earlier than Dr. Rutty, in 1718, Dr. Michael Lee Dicker, another Quaker physician, got his medical degree at Leyden and became a Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians. Fellowship of the Royal College was not open to Quakers, being restricted to Oxford or Cambridge graduates. Dr. Lee Dicker settled in Exeter, where it is reported that he "gave devoted service to the Devon and Exeter Hospital.

John Wright Curtis was a Quaker apothecary and doctor, the son of William Curtis, surgeon, of Alton, Hants. He qualified as a Doctor of Medicine at Edinburgh in 1837, obtained his certificate at Apothecaries' Hall, London, in 1842, and then returned to Alton, where he became an assistant in his father's practice. His hobby was botany, and he kept a herbarium which was continued after his death in 1864.

Another link with the West Country Quakers, Thomas Young, M.D., F.R.C.S., was born at Milverton, Somerset, in 1773. After studying in London and Edinburgh, he took his degree at Gottingen, Germany, in 1795, and in 1800 started a medical practice in London. From 1801-1804, he was Professor of Natural Philosophy at the Royal Institution, and in 1811 he became physician to St. George's Hospital. He was the author of numerous scientific works, was much interested in Egyptian hieroglyphics, and helped to decipher the Rosetta Stone.

Gilbert Thompson, in a description of Dr. John Fothergill's apprenticeship with famous Yorkshire Quaker apothecary Benjamin Bartlett, wrote "he had here the completest opportunity of knowing drugs in their best and genuine state, of compounding them with neatness, visiting patients, and laying the best foundation in his art". That seems to sum up the duties and aspirations of the best of the Quaker apothecaries.

I am indebted to the Librarians of the Society of Friends in London, for making available facilities for research in that Library, and to Mr. Arthur Raistuck, historian, and Dr. Christopher Booth, Professor of Medicine, Royal Postgraduate Medical School, London, on both of whose books I have based some of my researches, and passages from which I have quoted.

The Herb Women of the London Markets

By J. BURNBY

It was Thomas Johnson the apothecary who wrote, "Almost every day in the herb market, one or other of them ("careless druggists") to the great peril of their patients, lays himself open to the mockery of the women who deal in roots. These women know only too well the unskilled, and thrust brazenly what they please for what you will .... Is not the fate of the patients who rely upon the help of such doctors and druggists pitiable? For the doctor relies on the druggists and the druggists on a greedy and dirty old woman with the audacity and capacity to impose anything on him. So it often happens that the patients' safety depends on the herbal knowledge of an ignorant and crafty woman."[1] Thus was the reputation of the herb woman taken away, and whether it was justified we really do not know. In fact very little has ever been known about those herb sellers.

In 1632 when Johnson was writing, the market for horticultural products had only recently been moved by the City fathers from the Baynard's castle area to Aldersgate and Broad Street. The latter was soon abandoned and in 1661 the Gardeners' Company was complaining about costermongers and forestallers in Aldersgate, to say nothing of the "foreign gardeners" who frequented a rival market near Gracechurch Street. The authorities confirmed that members of the Gardeners' Company and "other country people" should use Aldersgate from 4 a.m. to 7 p.m. in summer and 6 a.m. to 5 p.m. in winter.

In the long run the rival market proved the more successful of the two; for a while it was known as the Woolchurch Herb Market and finally Leadenhall. After the Great Fire, Stocks Market, whose origins go back to the end of the 13th century, was re-built. It was intended that it should be continued to be used by butchers and fishmongers but increasingly they were ousted by sellers of fruit, vegetables and herbs. It lasted until 1737 when the Mansion House was built on the site. The trade then went to Fleet Market in Farringdon Street and to Leadenhall.

The records for Fleet Market show that in February 1738, amongst the occupiers of the shops in the Market House were Gospel Franks who had a herb shop at numbers 169 and 100, Mary Leech and Judith Vardey who sold "phisick herbs" at numbers 101, 132 and 114, and that Mary Nixon, herbwoman, was at number 111.[2] Like Judith Vardey, Mary Nixon paid 4s. a week. The market overseer, G. Dobson, sent in a report on 27 April 1738 to the "Com(mittee) appointed to manage the affairs relating to the publick markets of this City", showing that there was grave dissatisfaction at Fleet Market, "The farmers and Gardiners yt come over London Bridge desire ye toll at Fleet and Holborn bridges may be taken off otherwise they will leave ye market." Matters were even more difficult in Leadenhall Herb Market. Records show that in March 1737 Giles Alexander was paying 2s. a week for stall number 130, but on 11 October 1739 John Fawdrey reported that Giles refused to pay his rent. One cannot help but feel that the explanation lies with the next item, "Likewise (I) inform you that in the Casual part of the above market the floor is fell in, so that their (sic) is a hole about 5ft. by 3, which is an Absolute Necessity of being Repair Immediately." The situation was about to be remedied.

A new Green Market at Leadenhall was in the process of being built at a cost of £540 3s.8d. At the end of November 1739 a notice was sent out to inform "... all persons that are willing to take any standings in the New Market for fruit and greens adjoining to Leadenhall Markett that they may apply to the Committee ... who will sit in the Council Chamber of the Guildhall on Thurs. 13 Dec. next at 3 o'c. p.m." It seems to have proved popular because by 1740, 41 standings had been taken by 'gardiners', nine of whom were women.[3] Sarah Williamson, Anne Underhill (both of whom were literate) and Margaret Langbridge each paid thirty shillings a year for two standings each in the passage leading out into Leadenhall Street, whilst Mary Hillyard contracted to pay 1s.6d.

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per week for "A standing for greens to come on after the Gardiners are gone."

There were other markets involved in the horticultural trade, such as Covent Garden which received its licence in 1670, Hungerford Market where Charing Cross station now stands dating from 1679, and the highly successful Spittlefields from 1682, besides the lesser known Honey Lane and Newgate Markets. Mrs Clements had a standing at the last market, but was in danger of losing it in June 1735 if she did not pay her arrears by 7 a.m. of the 25th. Elizabeth Gobby was in similar trouble in the Market of 1737 when she begged "time till Easter". Towards the end of April she sent a petition to the "Committee of the City Marketts". She wrote "That from Infancy (I) was brought up by an herbwoman in Newgate Markett and for 12 years last past paid to the Clarke of the said Markett 1s.8d. per week for my standing", and she had also paid £5 5s.0d. at the time of her admittance. She went on to relate or rather her amanuensis did, "Her husband dyed about 18 months since leaving her in very low and mean circumstances with 2 small children every way unprovided for, — your Petitioner having been lame near 3 months and not capable of following her Employment whereby she became in arrears of rent £1 1s.6d. on her account of her standing. Now somewhat recovered of her lameness she came to Markett 13th. inst. and placed her goods at her usual standing when Mr Fodery one of the Clerks of said Markett removed her Goods and refused to let her sell unless she paid arrears due which she could no manner of wise do.

"Prays that you will be favourably pleased to Commisserate her poor mean and necessitous circumstances and as the season of the year is now coming on whereby she will be better enabled to pay the arrears as also make provision for herself and children — be favourably pleased to restore her standing and accept payment for same at 2s. per week until arrears paid".

Beyond the laconic note that the petition was received on 21 May 1737, we do not know what was the fate of Elizabeth Gobby, but one does feel that in all justice Thomas Johnson could not have called her a greedy old woman, nor even an entirely ignorant one.

References
1. Thomas Johnson, *Journeys in Kent and Hampstead,* ed. J.S.L. Gilmour, facsimile reprint, The Hunt Botanical Library, 1972.
2. The City of London Record Office, Ms. 332.4.
3. At this period the term "gardeners" was not usually used in the modern sense, but rather to describe market-gardeners and nurserymen.

Questions and Answers

Members are encouraged to add their comments on the questions or answers for possible inclusion in future issues of *Pharmaceutical Historian.* Please quote reference number — Editor.

Vol. 12 No. 2 August 1982
No. 8216. Holloways' Ointment Jar.
At least six different pots are known to exist which were used for Holloway's Ointment. Variations occur in the list of complaints for which it could be used, in the presence or absence of the trademark (seated figure of Hygeia with a child), and in the address. They are thought to have been in use from the 1860's to about 1920, the approximate dates being;
244 Strand, — up to 1867,
533 Oxford Street, — 1867 to 1910,
113 Southwark Street, — 1910 onwards,
In addition to these small pots, transfer printed lids, which were used on the larger sizes, are to be found.

W. A. Jackson

Vol. 12, No. 3, December, 1982.
No. 8217. Glossary.
'Apothecary Jars' by Rudolf E. A. Drey, Faber & Faber 1978, London and Boston, 1978, contains a glossary on pages 179 to 238, of 1,400 entries in Latin, Italian and French.

C. A. Livesley

(The Editor wishes to thank the many other members who also drew attention to the list.)

Vol. 12, No. 3, December 1982.
No. 8218. Wound Treatment.
The 'New English Dictionary', Odhams Press Ltd., London, March 1932 gives as one meaning for the word 'dossil' — "a plug for stopping a wound".

W. A. Jackson

Gould's Pocket Medical Dictionary describes 'dossil' as a cylindrical pledget of lint for cleaning wounds.

C. A. Livesley

A 'dossil' is a small portion of lint, cylindrical or shaped like an olive stone and used for packing wounds. The lint being prepared by ravelling or scraping linen cloth. The word 'Lint' is derived from the middle English 'Lynnet' — linen. This information is in *A Short History of Surgical Dressings* by Isabelle M. Z. Elliott. Chapter 5 p. 38, published by The Pharmaceutical Press 1964.

I. M. Z. Elliott

Vol. 12, No. 1, April 1982.
No. 8213. Music Records.
Your notice regarding John Read's work on the canons (not fugues) of Michael Maier has been drawn to my attention. The musical aspects of these pieces are discussed by F. H. Sawyer in an appendix to Read's book, *Prelude to Chemistry.* Although I do not know of the existence of a recording emanating from St. Andrews University, there is a possibility that these works may be performed in Belgium.

According to Shaw, Maier's music (if it is his) is not very good musically, and this may deter musicians from completing the transcription of the canons into modern notation and performing them.

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Correction

Index 1967-1981
The Editor regrets an error in the title of article 64 which should read "Physick in Bolton in 1779".

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Solvae et Coagulae
A Glimpse of Alchemy

By A. G. M. Madge

> *"First to the Queen and to the King, then the Black Dragon of Putrefaction and the White Eagle of Sublimation to attain the Red Stone, the Quintessence, the Son of the Sun to have the Key of Constitution of Malkuth".*

All very mysterious with obviously a hidden meaning. Studying old books, many such statements on Alchemy are found. Study and research opens up a fascinating, enchanting, intriguing world of the true alchemist.

I say *true* alchemist to distinguish him from the mountebanks, charlatans, con-men who deluded the folk at that time to their financial detriment which eventually necessitated the passing of a law to safeguard the public.

The true alchemist was never prosectued, and indeed found favour with Royal Courts and noble families. However the air of mystery, double dealing and magic together with the picture of a man in a ragged coloured coat, a conical hat with mysterious signs and writing, usually bending over a crucible muttering incantations persists even down to the present day. It is only in recent years that more research has parted the mist or curtain and penetrated the fog to reveal the true alchemist. It is stimulating and interesting to read old books, and some modern ones too, to decipher or translate the hidden meanings, as in the opening paragraph.

"Solvae et Coagulae" means either dissolve and precipitate, or crystallise from solution, or melt or solidify. Time and heat would melt substances, time, heat and moisture would dissolve them.

The King and Queen are usually referred to as Sol or Gold and to Luna or Silver respectively, but some refer the title King to Sulphur, and the Queen to the Mercury of the Philosophers.

The difficulty of repeating the experiments of the alchemists is the uncertainty of knowing which materials were actually used when items such as Mercury, Sulphur, Salt, Sun, Moon and Queen are mentioned in the records. "Salt" is not the sodium chloride we know, or chemical salts but refers to a binding substance or cohesion. "Sulphur" was considered an essential part in the make-up of all metals.

We come to the transmutation of metal which in many ways is similar to the chemical theories of today. For this process one substance was necessary — the Philosophers Stone, the Quintessence, or the Son of Sun. This was derived from the Philosophical Mercury, the metallic principle *par excellence,* Salt (previously explained), and Sulphur, regarded as principle of combustion and colour, this had to pass in the process through the colours Black and White to Red. This stone was expected by some to be also a means for the production of the Elixir of Life.

The Black Dragon, sometimes called the Black Eagle referred to putrefaction, not the decay of flesh as we understand it today, but a chemical breakdown. The White Eagle sometimes called Sal ammoniac was sublimation or volatisation of a substance. Putrefaction was conversion by heat or dissolved substances or liquids, into a sediment or precipitation of melted substances into slag or form of ashes. Malkuth referred in the opening paragraph is the Kabalistic name for the material world and for matter in its multiform states, hence the Stone of the Philosphers was called the "Key to the Constitution of Malkuth."

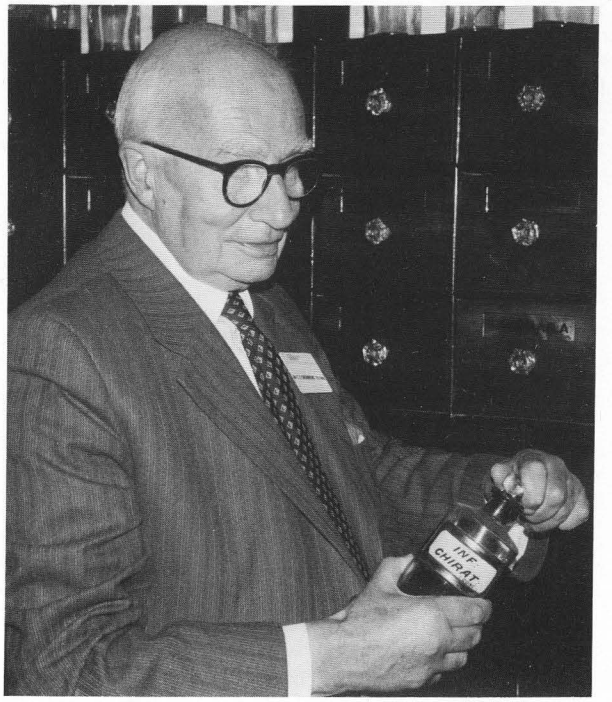
Can we take another example of the hidden language from Jean d'Espagnet an Alchemist." Take a red dragon, courageous and warlike to whom no natural strength is wanting, take also seven or nine noble virgin eagles whose eyes will not wax dull in the rays of the Sun. Cast the Birds in with the Beast into a clear prison shut them up strongly, under which let a bath be placed, that they might be incensed to fight by the warm vapour: in a short time they will enter upon a hard contention: until about the fiftieth day the Eagles begin to tear the Beast in peices; this on dying will infect the whole prison with black poison whereby the Eagles also being injured, they also will be soon constrained to give up the ghost."

This is translated as "Take one part of a red powder "a" and add seven or nine parts of the liquid "b" which is volatile (i.e. able to fly); mix them, put the mixture into a glass retort — (the clear prison) — hermetically seal the opening, that is shut them up strongly, set the vessel on a water bath, and then the heat will make the liquid attack the solid powder and dissolve it, and the result will be the production of a black substance, and both the red powder and the liquid will have lost their previous chemical character."

The true alchemist wished to record his experiments, theories and philosophy secure from the eyes of the "profane" but in a manner intelligible to himself and other true alchemists. He achieved it by using his own or accepted code or symbols which gives the added thrill of deciphering or translating them today.

That alchemy was linked with religion in one way or another was inevitable since purity was sought-the pure metal gold, or the purity of the Philosopher's Stone and an impure person could never hope to find the quintessence. It would only be revealed to the pure. Therefore the alchemist approached his experiments with ritualistic reverence "Thou wilt never make from other things the one that thou seekest, except there be made one thing of thyself". It was in this attitude that he sought the greatest of mysteries, the cohesion or the binding of matter that permeates all things. Once found then it would lead the way to transmutation.

*A short paper given at the Spring Conference, University of Warwick, April 1982.



Renewing an acquaintance: *Is a regular occurrence at B.P. conferences. During the last occasion Mr. C. G. Drummond handled a shop round which at one time was in his Grassmarket, Edinburgh pharmacy and now is in The PSGB's Scottish Department Museum, 36 York Place, Edinburgh.*

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An Establishment Unique*

By G. D. HOPKINSON

The British Drug Houses Ltd — or B.D.H. as it became generally known — came into existence round about 1908 or 1909. There has always been some slight confusion about the exact birth date of the organisation, although many references in the archives and in press cuttings are to the year 1908 there are almost as many to 1909. The explanation, in fact, is quite simple. The company was registered and received its Certificate of Incorporation in December 1908, the first board meeting was held on Tuesday, December 22nd 1908 — but it did not actually start trading until January 1st 1909. There is ample evidence that the founders of the business regarded January 1st 1909 as its real date of birth.

Around the turn of the century the advantages of size were beginning to be realised by the more forward looking wholesale druggists. In 1896 two of the leading London drug firms, Arthur S. Hill & Son of Southwark Street and Davy, Yates & Hicks of nearby Park Street, amalgamated to become Davy, Hill & Co., and then, in 1906, Davy, Hill & Co. joined with Hodgkinsons, Clarke & Ward of Whitecross Street, to become Davy, Hill & Hodgkinsons Ltd.

In 1909 came the biggest amalgamation of all when Davy, Hill & Hodgkinsons Ltd., together with Hearon, Squire & Francis Ltd. also of Southwark Street, and Barron, Harveys & Co. of Giltspur Street, formed themselves into The British Drug Houses Ltd.

There has long existed some misunderstanding as to exactly how many firms did come together in 1909. On a stictly legal interpretation the number is three — Davy, Hill & Hodgkinsons; Hearon, Squire & Francis; and Barron, Harveys & Co. There is no doubt, however, that the founders looked upon it as a fourfold amalgamation regarding Davy, Hill & Co. and Hodgkinsons Clarke & Ward (who had amalgamated in 1906) as two separate entities and in the early days on the firms stationery, in catalogues, etc. the names of the four firms were shown separately underneath the B.D.H. title. The use of the word 'Tetradome' — 'tetra', the Greek 'four' and 'domus' the Latin 'a House' (four houses) as the firms telegraphic address is confirmation of this.

It is interesting, however, to note that an article about Charles Alexander Hill in the *Chemists Trade Record* of November 1935 says "it was no small task to weld into one homogeneous body *five* century-old historic concerns." And following Hill's death in 1948 an obituary notice in *Nature* mentions that "four years before the first world war broke out the amalgamation of *six* companies concerned with pharmaceutical manufacture had taken place under Hill's leadership."

There has also been some slight confusion concerning the actual name of the firm — that is whether the definite article was actually included in the title. Certainly in letters circulated by the participating companies announcing the amalgamation the definite article is not used and the new company is referred to as "British Drug Houses Ltd." Harold Treves Brown — a director of BDH for many years and at one time company secretary — was of the opinion that the "The" was not properly part of the company title.

However, some early minute books have recently come to light and an impression of the original Common Seal of the Company made on the first page clearly shows that the title was, indeed, *The* British Drug Houses Ltd.

It was not originally intended that the new company should have the name that it did. There is considerable evidence to suggest that the name of the new company was to be "Barron, Davy & Hearon" — the first names in the titles of the three actual constituent companies — and, of course, that was the origin of the initials B.D.H. However, in what was surely a moment of inspiration on somebody's part — probably that of Charles Alexander Hill — there was finally adopted a national and, in the early days of this century, wholly appropriate title to emphasise the amalgamation of so much experience, goodwill and tradition.

Some sixty years later, when the firm was still in existence and known world-wide under its original name, it was suggested by a firm of public relations consultants that the name should be changed because "British" had an aura of chauvinism about it which was inappropriate to the world of the nineteen seventies, because the word "House" in a corporate title had become an anacronism and finally, and sadly it might be thought, because "Drug" had become a dirty word anyway.

Of the four companies in the amalgamation the oldest was Hearon, Squire & Francis Ltd. whose history can be traced back to 1714 — the last year of the reign of Queen Anne, and the firm that was to become Davy, Hill & Co. was trading in Ludgate Hill in 1755. Hodgkinsons Clarke & Ward can be traced back to an establishment in Bride Lane trading in 1762 or earlier as Chamberlain and Rugg, whilst Barron, Harveys & Co. operated until 1909 from the same premises in Giltspur Street which they had occupied without a break since at least 1792. Thus, the four firms which came together in 1909 could trace their histories back to 1714, 1755, 1762 and 1792.

BDH, by the standards of the wholesale drug trade, was a very sizeable organisation. Leslie G. Matthews in his book *History of Pharmacy in Britain* suggests that the firms to which BDH became the successor must have had half the drug trade in London and he is no doubt right. They also had a very substantial proportion of the provincial trade as well.

Before the days of widespread adoption of limited liability, status firms such as those which became BDH traded either as individuals or, more often, as partnerships so that the names of the firms were constantly changing as one partner retired and a successor came in. Never was the previous business name retained for long so it must have been thought that there was little in the way of prestige or goodwill attaching to any particular business name.

In the organisations that eventually came together as BDH it is possible to trace no fewer than fifty-six separate styles under which the various partnerships traded and more than fifty different names occurring in those titles. In most instances the individual names appear but once or twice although there were, as might be expected, some dynasties being formed when son followed father into the business generation after generation.

The earliest examples of these dynasties seem to have been the Barrons and the Harveys; the first Harvey was in partnership with others as early as 1795, and the first Barron in 1804. The last of the Barrons died in 1899 but two of the Harveys lingered on until they both retired in 1929 making an unbroken family connection of 134 years.

The Francis family was associated with Hearon, Squire & Francis, and later BDH from about 1866 until 1933, and the Hodgkinson family was in one partnership or another for more than a hundred years until 1917.

The most important of these dynasties, however, would seem to be the Hills. Arthur Stephen Hill entered the business in 1817, was followed by his son, Arthur Bowdler HIll, and then his grandson Charles Alexander Hill who was to be chairman and managing director of BDH for nearly thirty-five years until he retired in 1943. There was, indeed, a fourth generation of Hills and the last of these Charles Mervyn Hill retired in 1965. Thus the Hill family connection lasted without a break for 148 years. Charles Mervyn Hill died in May 1982 aged eighty.

And so on January 1st 1909 The British Drug Houses Ltd. opened for business — trading in much the same way as it had done when they closed the previous evening. To the ordinary worker in the various offices, warehouses and factories the business

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went on exactly as before. Each of the old companies continued to serve its own customers from its own separate premises. And the ten directors carried on the same executive responsibilities, from their own separate addresses as they had done in the past.

With just one exception — Charles Alexander Hill now, and for the next thirty-five years, chairman and managing director, was busy putting the whole thing together. He was already negotiating for a site in Graham Street, off the City Road, on which to convert the four businesses into a single unit. All the BDH predecessors had had their establishments either within, or very close to, the boundaries of the ancient City of London. Their roots in the City were both deep and widespread and when he chose Graham Street, Hill was not only choosing a home for the new firm which was only half a mile or so from the City boundary but one which was in the midst of an area of many historic and literary associations. It was only two or three minutes walk up the City Road to the famous old coaching inn the "Angel" at Islington. Not far away was the famous Sadler's Wells, said to be the oldest theatre in London. And close by was the site of the old "Islington Spa" or the "New Tunbridge Wells" as it was called because of the similarity of its waters to those of Tunbridge Wells. Part of the old building was in existence until the time of the last war. Also, no more than a few hundred yards from Graham Street stood the old "Eagle" tavern famous for its mention in the old nursery rhyme "Pop goes the Weasel". And within a few minutes walk from Graham Street there stood, indeed there still stands, Colebrook Cottage, new 64 Duncan Terrace, in which the essayist Charles Lamb lived for many years. And Charles Dickens made use of innumerable streets and squares close to Graham Street as scenes for incidents in many of his novels.

Some of the buildings on the new site purchased from the Wallpaper Manufacturers Co. Ltd. were demolished and rebuilt completely, others were adapted and altered. And within a year BDH was a single unit on a single site.

The trade press were now invited to inspect the new organisation and were ecstatic. "An establishment unique in the history of British Pharmacy" announced the *Chemist & Druggist*. "The ne plus ultra of pharmaceutical manufacturing" said the *British & Colonial Druggist*.

Almost two hundred years after the first seed had been sown in 1714 after fifty-six different partnerships had been formed and dissolved and after fifty families had played their parts in building up the various businesses they were all at last together under one roof.

Many of those who, during the previous two centuries, had played their parts in the creation of this unique establishment seem to have left little or nothing behind to be remembered by, save the bare records of their involvement in the business. It seems to have been common to them all that their lives were devoted to little else but the business. Their private lives are equally in the shadows. With a few exceptions no mention can be found of their womenfolk — their wives, their daughters, their mistresses. Their sons went into the various businesses — or some did. Certainly those that did not follow the family trade remain mostly undistinguished and unremembered. Truly they seem to have devoted themselves wholly and completely to their commercial duties.

But, within these limits there has recently been unearthed a little information about some of them and this can, perhaps be most conveniently told by examining the separate histories of the firms which became The British Drug Houses Ltd.

As has been mentioned, Hearon, Squire & Francis was the oldest of the three and its history can be traced in unbroken succession back to 1714 — the last year of the reign of Queen Anne when one Kirk was in business as an apothecary and wholesale druggist at 95 Bishopsgate Street Within. Bishopsgate Street was partly within and partly outside the City walls — hence the 'Within'. More recently the designation "Street" has also been dropped and it is now known simply as Bishopsgate. Little is known about Mr. Apothecary Kirk but it was generally believed inside the firm of Hearon, Squire & Francis that the business had been in the family for two previous generations which would put the date of its foundation at about 1650. There is, however, no real evidence to support this theory and 1714 is the earliest date that can be claimed with certainty. Anyway, 95 Bishopsgate was certainly the birthplace of the business which eventually became Hearon, Squire & Francis, then The British Drug Houses Ltd., and of which the only surviving direct heir is now BDH Chemicals Ltd. of Poole.

Bishopsgate sheltered the business for nearly a century and a half. The composition of the partnerships changed over the years and it was in 1795 that the first Hearon came into the firm which now traded as Sharpe, Kirk, Gratton & Hearon. Until the early days of the 19th century the partners were all shadowy figures but in 1816 the three then partners can be identified by their christian names. They were, Mr. Richard Hearon, Mr. Brailsford Bright and Mr. Goswill Johnson.

By 1843 Richard Hearon had been succeeded by Henry Hearon — presumably his son — Brailsford Bright was still in the business and William McCulloch had replaced Goswill Johnson. The firm traded as Hearon, Bright & McCulloch.

William McCulloch was a well known figure in the wholesale drug trade and merits particular mention because he is the first person in any way connected with BDH of whom there is a photograph still in existence. This was taken probably in the eighteen-forties — certainly in the very early days of photography.

Henry Hearon died in 1843 and this was the occasion for the first Squire to join the business which now traded as Hearon, McCulloch and Squire. Both William McCulloch and William Squire were original members of the Pharmaceutical Society. By 1860 the firm had outgrown the Bishopsgate Street premises and moved to 5 Coleman Street, the headquarters for another 30 years.

The name Francis was added to the title in 1866 when George Baggett Francis became a partner. When William Square retired in 1882 — William McCulloch having gone a few years earlier — George Baggett Francis was the sole partner and he then took into partnership his two sons, George Bult Francis and William Henry Francis.

Leaving aside the founder Mr. Apothecary Kirk — of whom little is known — George Bult Francis was probably the most significant figure in the history of Hearon, Squire & Francis. He was born in 1850 in the historic house of John Bell & Co. at 338 Oxford Street where his father, George Baggett Francis, held the position of "Chief of the Laboratory and Housekeeper". As a boy he often saw Jacob Bell and his intimate friend the eminent animal painter Sir Edwin Landseer. He was educated at the City of London School where, among his schoolfellows was H. H. Asquith later to become Liberal Prime Minister. After leaving school he was sent to Germany for two years to continue his education in Mannheim. He was a Fellow of the Chemical Society, of the Royal Society of Arts and of the Royal Botanic Society. He was one of the original members of the Society of Chemical Industry. He was a member of the Guildhall Court of Arbitration. He was a member of the Drug Club, the Devonshire Club and of the Norwegian Club of Bergen. He seems to have travelled extensively as a young man and was said to have gone twice round the world, on one occasion making the outer voyage in one of the old full-rigged sailing ships.

He joined the family firm in 1870 and in 1882 because of his father's illness, was called upon to take charge of the business.

In 1890 the firm moved from Coleman Street to larger premises in Southwark Street. In 1899 the firm became a private limited company. George Bult Francis became chairman and, with his brother William Henry Francis, joint managing director. They were joined on the Board my W.A.H. Naylor. In 1904 William Henry Francis retired and Alan Francis, son of George Bult Francis, became a director.

Hearon, Squire & Francis sold a large range of pharmaceutical products and toiletries — one of the latter being 'Heron' brand Coal Tar Soap. (They used a picture of that bird as a trade mark). This product was said to have been formulated by a young man by the name of Wright who was said to have later left Hearon Squire

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& Francis, joined the firm that later became Wright, Layman & Umney and there produced the similar but very much better known and more successful 'Wright's Coal Tar Soap'.

By 1909 when the BDH amalgamation took place the Board of Hearon Squire and Francis had been enlarged and there were seven directors. Three of them, George Bult Francis, his son Alan Francis and W.A.H. Naylor became directors of BDH. Two of them, R.J. Reynolds and R. Sharrah, were given jobs as travellers which they occupied for many years. The services of W.J. Rogerson were apparently dispensed with and it is recorded in an early Board minute that he was sent a cheque for two months' salary. John B. Ridgewell became Company Secretary at BDH — but he had to combine this job with those of Head Clerk and Cashier. He could, however, produce a beautiful copperplate handwriting which made the pages of the early BDH Board Minute Books things of beauty.

W.A.H. Naylor continued as a director of BDH until 1921 and George Bult Francis retired in 1922. He died in 1929 at the age of 79.

Alan Francis was now the last of his line and he remained a director of The British Drug Houses Ltd until 1933 when, some two hundred and twenty years after Mr. Apothecary Kirk had founded the business at 95 Bishopsgate Street Within and the best part of a century after the Francis family had commenced its long and otherwise wholly distinguished connection with the firm, he departed hurriedly, under conditions of some secrecy, and in somewhat dubious circumstances, for Australia.

It was an unhappy ending to the Francis family's long record of service to BDH and to the wholesale drug trade generally.

And now to consider Barron, Harveys & Co. — or the "City House" as they liked to style themselves. The Square Mile of the City of London is now largely a centre of finance and many of the merchant houses have departed. At the beginning of the century, however, there were still quite a few merchant houses, particularly in the wholesale drug trade, who had their headquarters and warehouses within, or very close to the City boundaries.

One of these was Barron Harveys & Co. of 6, Giltspur Street, and the firm had occupied the same building at least since 1792 until, as part of The British Drug Houses Ltd., they left it in 1909 to move to Graham Street.

The story of Barron Harveys & Co. is essentially the story of two families — the Barrons and the Harveys who dominated the firm through three generations of the former and five generations of the latter. Originally the firm was known as Baldwin & Co. and after some intermediate changes had, by about 1800 or just after, become Hernon, Langton, Harvey, Beckwith & Barron.

Edward Harvey (1) was born in 1760 and joined Baldwin, Heron & Langton in 1795. Although little is known of the first Edward Harvey he does have the distinction of being the first member of any of the BDH predecessor companies of whom we still have a record of his likeness. The original portrait was probably painted in the early years of the last century as he died in 1819. We also have portraits of Edward Harvey (2) who died in 1865 and Charles Barron who died in 1850.

By 1837 the company was styled Barron, Harvey, Barron & Co., the three partners being Charles Barron, Edward Harvey (2) and Frederick Barron. By 1851 Charles Harvey, son of Edward Harvey (2) and cousin of Edward Harvey (3) had joined the firm. He was born in 1832 and later became senior partner until his death in 1891.

The complications of five generations of Harveys and three generations of Barrons made it difficult to describe the continuously changing partnership structure in any simple way.

However, the last of the Barrons, Richard Bankes Barron died in 1899. He had been engaged mainly in buying and was one of the most notable figures in the wholesale drug trade during the latter years of the nineteenth century and, on his death, the *British & Colonial Druggist* described him as "The premier druggist on the market".

So, Barron Harveys & Co. entered the 20th century with three partners, Roger M. Harvey (son of Edward Harvey (3)), his cousin Ralph K. Harvey, and an outsider W.L. Howie from Edinburgh. William L. Howie had been a traveller first with T & H Smith of Edinburgh and then for Barron, Harveys & Co. and was eventually taken into partnership. He had contributed occasional scientific articles to the trade papers and was said to have invented and patented a "system of railway fencing as an automatic protection against snow and sand" which was said to be still in use on the Highland railway in 1918.

In those days it was contrary to tradition for the manufacturing or wholesale firms in the drug trade to make themselves known to the general public or to court any kind of publicity. Accepted standards in the trade required them to remain anonymous leaving the promotion of their products to the individual retail pharmacist in his shop. And anything in the nature of personal publicity was even more frowned upon.

Barron Harveys & Co. seem to have pursued this policy almost to the point of obsession. Outside their premises in Giltspur Street they gave no indication of the nature of their business and identified themselves only by two small black marble tablets, one on each side of the main entrance, showing their name in incised gilt letters. On their vehicles they showed not their name but only the initials 'B.H. & Co.' together with, but more prominently, the City coat of arms.

It would appear that the manufacture of pills was one of Barron, Harveys' specialities and they also seem — which is surprising in view of the usual restrictions on the use of such words in trade marks — to have succeeded in registering the use of the word "Sweet" as a trade mark in relation to pills. They had, apparently, patented a process for the application of the recently discovered sacharrine to pill coatings and a copy of their relevant catalogue — issued about 1888 — is still in existence.

Several other interesting photographs of the Barron Harveys establishment have survived including one — dating, apparently from 1898 — of the seed grinding mills showing a venerable old gentleman said to be the "present father of the house" who recently attended his "fiftieth annual stocktaking dinner". These house festivals were a conspicuous feature of the employees' year but — as the *Chemist & Druggist* commented "on account — we suppose — of the extreme modesty of the firm, are never reported in the journals."

There is also still in existence a reproduction — but regrettably no trace of the original — of a list of products offered by Hernon, Langton, Harvey & Beckwith and seemingly issued in 1797. This is, of course, the oldest record of a catalogue that can be found in the BDH archives.

The paper of their circulars and invoices was always large and of the best quality and the headings were in the best style of copperplate engraving.

Charles Harvey — who died in 1891 when senior partner — was said to be a man who had personally sold more drugs than any man of his day and he continued to travel regularly on behalf of the firm almost until the day of his death. It was said of him that "he had never been asked to give a written guarantee of quality — a man of the strictest integrity his word was his bond."

The Barrons and the Harveys seem to have been substantial customers for their own wares and, by some fortunate chance, there has survived the firm's private prescription book for the two families. Presumably they had their doctor's prescriptions made up within the firm and the prescription book records the medicinal needs of the two families from about 1867 until about 1910. More important, it also provides some details about the two families.

All the Barrons and Harveys who were active in the business over the period and who have been mentioned earlier are there.

We find that both Ralph K. Harvey and Roger M. Harvey — who were both to become directors of The British Drug Houses Ltd. — first appear in the book as "Master Ralph Harvey" and

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"Master Roger Harvey". We also note from time to time "Mrs. Harvey's Baby" and sometimes bottles of medicine are prescribed for the whole family — e.g. one for "Mrs. Barron's children" is dated about 1870.

And it is only in this book that there is to be found any mention of the female members of the two families. Round about 1870 there was a Miss A. Barron and a Miss Amy Harvey. And ten years later there were quite a number of girls around — Miss Jessie Harvey, Miss Sally Barron, Miss Maud Barron and Miss Alicia Barron. As to what happened to them all, of course, we do not know.

Prescriptions are also recorded for the domestic staff. "Mrs. Barron's nurse" as well as "Mrs. Barron's under-nurse" and many others. Apparently — like on the old slave plantations in the southern States of America — the domestic staffs were not even allowed their own names in this private Barron and Harvey book.

There is also to be found a prescription dated 1882 for Mrs. Harvey for which the directions are "take half a teasponful in a glass of port wine." Not far away there is a somewhat similar prescription entered for "Mrs. Barron's maid." No mention of port wine on this one, however. She took it in water.

So, for a period of more than forty years we have a record of the ailments and prescriptions for the Barron and Harvey families.

In the whole book there is hardly a name other than Barron and Harvey — just one or two, probably visitors to the two households.

But there is just one little oddity. Tucked away among all the Barrons and Harveys there is one prescription which would appear to be a tonic mixture, recorded under the single name "Eugenie". Who, it cannot help but be wondered, was 'Eugenie'? Perhaps a lady friend of one of the Harveys or the Barrons — kept tucked away in some little private establishment, some little Victorian love-nest?

Possibly. But we shall never know.

The premises that stood on the site of 6 Giltspur Street — the Street of the Golden Spur — right in the heart of the City of London, have long since been demolished. After Barron, Harveys & Co. departed in 1909 a new building was erected on the site and occupied by St. Bartholomew's Hospital Medical School. But that too is now gone.

So for a period of more than one hundred years and spanning three different centuries the firm of Barron, Harveys & Co. flourished in the heart of the City of London, within sight of St. Paul's Cathedral and of the Old Bailey and almost within the shadow of the City church of St. Sepulchre. Around the corner was Newgate Street where, during much of the firm's existence there stood the bleak and infamous Newgate Prison. Nearby was the imposing entrance to St. Bartholomew's Hospital — close to the spot where, in the 14th century, the Lord Mayor of London, Walworth disposed of Wat Tyler with a dagger during the poll tax riots. The incident is commemorated by the red dagger on the shield of the City Coat of Arms, and it was this Coat of Arms that was prominently displayed on the firm's horse drawn vans whilst it identified itself only as "B.H. & Co."

The City House — as they liked to style themselves — moved out in 1909 beyond the City boundaries to Graham Street, just a mile or so up the City Road towards the "Angel" at Islington. The three partners, Ralph Key Harvey, Roger Melhuish Harvey and W.L. Howie moved with it, to give between them another fifty years service as directors of BDH.

Finally, let us turn to the history of Davy, Hill & Hodgkinsons Ltd. It will be remembered that in 1896 Arthur S. Hill & Son amalgamated with Davy, Yates and Hicks and that in 1906, Hodgkinsons Clarke & Ward joined them. Unfortunately, records concerning these two latter firms are very scanty.

Sometime before 1760 a firm of druggists, Taylor, Davy and Co. was in business in Little Britain. The partnership changed several times and by 1840 it was trading as Davy, McMurdo & Co. (in Old Swan Lane) and in 1862 as Davy, Yates & Routledge.

In 1870 the business moved to a converted chapel at 64 Park Street — just off Southwark Street — and it is of some interest to note that this was the chapel where the famous evangelist, C.H. Spurgeon, preached when he first came to London in 1850. By 1894 the partnership had become Davy, Yates & Hicks.

Hodgkinsons Clarke & Ward has its origins in a business first established in Bride Lane in 1762 or earlier under the style Chamberlain & Rugg and by the end of the century John Hodgkinson — the first of his line, had joined the business which now traded as Rugg & Hodgkinson. As usual, the actual composition of the partnership continued to change, but John Hodgkinson (2) and his cousin R. Hodgkinson were in the business by 1837 and in 1851 there was an S.B. Hodgkinson in the partnership. In 1871 Charles Hodgkinson, grandson of the first John Hodgkinson joined the firm and he eventually became a director of The British Drug Houses Ltd. Then, in 1880 the premises they occupied in Aldersgate were burned down and the firm moved to 101, Whitecross Street. When, in 1906 the firm amalgamated with Davy, Hill & Co. the two remaining partners were Charles Hodgkinson and Frank Clarke.

And that, unfortunately — aside from the details of some intermediate partnerships and some changes in address is about all we know about these two firms. Just the bare bones, as it were, without very much flesh.

Happily, we do know a great deal more about Arthur S. Hill & Son.

The Hill business seems to have originated at 12 Ludgate Hill where in 1755, one Alexander Dalmahoy was in business. Dalmahoy was a somewhat flamboyant character who described himself as "Chemist to Her Majesty", although it is open to some little doubt as to whether he had any real claim to such a title. It may be noted that during the whole period during which Dalmahoy was in business the throne of England was occupied by male sovereigns so we are left in some doubt as to just who Her Majesty really was.

Anyway, Alexander Dalmahoy used the phrase "Chemist to Her Majesty" and displayed the Royal Coat of Arms on some of his wares. This practice was carried on by his successors and one of his products "Eau de Mente de Dalmahoy" was still being sold by BDH — and still displaying the Royal Coat of Arms on the label as late as the nineteen-thirties.

Another of Dalmahoy's products "The Curious Smelling Bottle" or "Le Sel Poignant d'Angleterre' was recommended for a wide range of human afflictions including, 'faintings, swoonings, palpitations of the heart, epileptic fits, apoplexies, yawnings, croaking, and tingling of the ears. Original copies of leaflets advertising this product (both in English and French) are to be found in the library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine.

It is to be regretted that we do not know more about Alexander Dalmahoy. In his book 'The Quacks of Old London' (1928) C.J.S. Thompson refers to a Colonel Dalmahoy who, in the 18th century sold his nostrums in Water Lane adjacent to Ludgate Hill. Colonel Dalmahoy was said to "have specifics for every ill as well as face washes, love philtres and charms" and it has been assumed by some writers mistakenly, in my view, that Alexander Dalmahoy and Colonel Dalmahoy were one and the same person.

The difference between the genuine apothecary and the quack may in those days have been a fine one but Alexander Dalmahoy was certainly no quack, nor did he deal in love potions and charms. Indeed, the name Alexander Dalmahoy should have a place in the reference books. In this connection I now refer to a book which Alexander Dalmahoy published about 1770 — a book to go with the medicine chests that he sold. A copy of which, possibly the only copy in existence, has recently come to light. In it he gives details of treatments for many of the common diseases and refers to most of the then known drugs in his suggested treatments.

His advice under the heading "Death from Drowning" describes almost word for word the modern "Kiss of Life".

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"Hold the nostrils, and blow into the mouth of the person taken out of the water either with your own breath, or with a pair of bellows. Use your whole force, then press the breast with your hand, and continue this repeatedly, in imitation of respiration."

This is by far the earliest known reference to E.A.R. or Expired Air Resuscitation, or the 'Kiss of Life' as it is generally called.

The Royal Life Saving Society has informed me that although there are some early references to the use of bellows for this purpose, they have never previously found any such early reference to blowing into the mouth etc. It is for this, I think, that the name of Alexander Dalmahoy deserves recognition.

By 1780 Dalmahoy had retired (he died in 1783) and the firm had passed into the hands of William Stock who expanded the business by taking over premises at 22 Ludgate Hill in addition to number 12. The business next passed into the hands of James White and one Cautherly who traded as White & Cautherly.

From this point onwards it is the Hills who take the centre of the stage.

Arthur Stephen Hill was born in 1802 and in 1817, at the age of 15 he was, in the old Hall of the Salter's Company, bound apprentice for seven years to the aforementioned James White.

Of his apprenticeship he was later to write "nothing was too trival or too menial for an apprentice to be given to do and it was a case of work from early morning until late at night from week's end until week's end and from year's end to year's end."

On completion of his apprenticeship he was admitted a freeman of the Salter's Company and went into business at 11, Little Britain — which premises, incidentally are still standing — with a fellow former apprentice, Edward Gasgoine. Within a year Gasgoine was dead and Arthur Stephen Hill then went into partnership with his old masters White and Cautherly and the business then traded as White, Cautherly & Hill. One of the firm's invoices dated as early as 6th April 1827 is still in existence.

By 1838 both White and Cautherly had retired and the firm traded simply as Arthur S. Hill. In 1849 the firm became Arthur S. Hill & Son, when he took into partnership his son Arthur Bowdler Hill.

In 1873 they moved from Little Britain to new premises at 101 and 103 Southwark Street and Arthur Stephen Hill retired. It was to be a long retirement, however, since he lived to the age of 97 and died in 1899.

Arthur Bowdler Hill took his eldest son Arthur Croft Hill into partnership in 1885 but he, apparently, did not care for the business, and left some years later to qualify in medicine and subsequently gained some modest renown in his chosen profession. Then in 1896 Arthur Bowdler Hill took into partnership his young son, Charles Alexander Hill who was then 22.

It was, apparently, the original intention that only one of the Hill sons should go into the family business and it was the plan that Charles Alexander, who had been educated at Winchester, should to in to the legal profession. However, when his elder brother gave up the family business it fell to Charles Alexander to take his place and to abandon his ambition for a career at the Bar. Since it was Charles Alexander Hill who was the architect and the creator of The British Drug Houses Ltd, it is an interesting speculation that had his brother stayed in the family firm then Charles Alexander would have gone to the Bar and there never would have come into existence a BDH.

Although there is not a lot known about Arthur Bowdler Hill there is a very great deal on record about Arthur Stephen Hill; about his business, about his private life and about himself as a person. This is partly due to a lengthy article which appeared in the daily newspaper *The City Press* of 25th August 1897 under the title 'A Nonagenarian Salter — Ninety Years Reminiscences'. At the time of the interview Hill was ninety-five years of age and, it would appear, remarkably young for his age.

He also left behind some brief writings in his own hand, partly in the form of a short narrative of his life entered in a notebook in 1882 when he was just eighty years of age, and partly in the form of some brief diary jottings that he made from time to time, usually when travelling. These writings are of absorbing interest, and throw much light on Arthur Stephen Hill as a character. Arthur Stephen Hill, however, is a subject in himself. For the moment suffice it to add that in 1858 he became Master of the Salter's Company — as later did his son Arthur Bowdler Hill and his grandson Charles Alexander Hill — and that he was one of the founder members of the Pharmaceutical Society being among that small group of members of the drug trade who met at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand in April 1841 to discuss preliminaries and to establish the Society.

Ten years after the death of Arthur Stephen Hill The British Drug Houses Ltd was created by his grandson Charles Alexander Hill.

We also know a great deal about Charles Alexander Hill, but that again is another story. His day is yet to come. For the next thirty-five years from 1st January 1909 he is to be chairman and managing director of his new creation. And on that day the newly created BDH still had some sixty years to go and in many respects they were to be sixty distinguished years.

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Diary Dates

September 14

British Pharmaceutical Conference. History Session.

2.15 - 3.15 p.m.	Mrs. Rosemary Weinstein, BA, FSA (Scot), Keeper, Tudor and Stuart Department of the Museum of London on "London and the Fire".
3.15 - 3.45 p.m.	Tea
3.45 - 4.45 p.m.	Dr. Alex Sakula, Md, FRCP, DHMSA, Honorary Secretary, Faculty of the History and Philosophy of Medicine and Pharmacy, The Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London on "The Worshipful Society of Apothecaries".

November 10

Joint meeting with the Pharmaceutical Society of Gt. Britain.

7 p.m. November 10, 1983 — Dr. D. B. Jack, BSc, PhD, will speak on "Dastardly deeds at Dorpat: the effects of russification on pharmacy and pharmacology".

Officers BSHP

At a committee meeting on April 28 the following officers were elected:

President & Joint Secretary:	Dr. W. E. Court, MPharm, PhD,FPS,FLS
Vice-President:	A. G. Mervyn Madge, FPS
Treasurer:	J. C. Bloomfield, OBE, FPS, FBOA, JP
Joint Secretary:	A. Wright, FPS, DBA

Questions and Answers

Members are encouraged to add their comments on the questions or answers for possible inclusion in future issues of *Pharmaceutical Historian.* Please quote reference number — Editor.

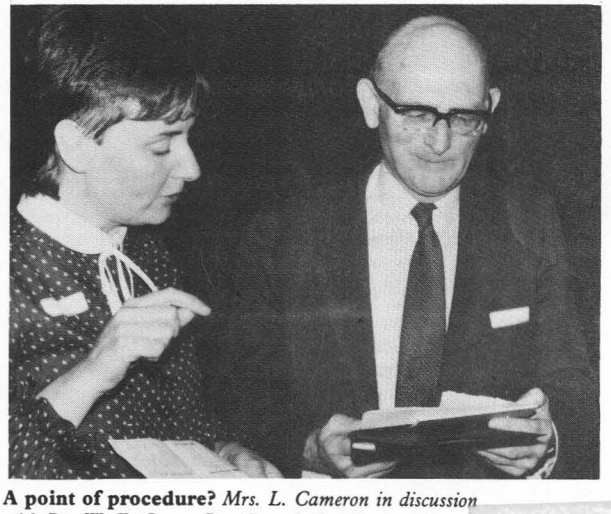
Vol. 12 No. 3, December 1982.

No. 8218. Wound Treatment.
According to the O.E.D. a dossil was a plug of lint or rag used for stopping a wound. The word derives from Old French, "dosil" or "doisil", a spigot. Hoblyn's Dictionary of Medical Terms (1892, 12th Edn) defines it as a pledget of lint made up in cylindrical form. There is an indication that it was used to stop bleeding. Thomas Wiseman (1676) in his 'Treatise on Wounds' described the use of dossils. They were different from tents, which were used to keep a wound open, and were often soaked in egg, or in a healing or vulnerary lotion. **Dr. D. Zuck**

No. 8301. Gascoigne's powder.
Can any reader supply information concerning formula and origin? **Betony**

No. 8302. French soap.
What were its special characteristics and assuming it originated in France which part please. **Althea**

No. 8303. Macmole.
An early document refers to the treatment of macmole. Can any reader throw any light on this condition or disease? **Rhoedos**



A point of procedure? *Mrs. L. Cameron in discussion with Dr. W. E. Court, President, during the excellent Spring Conference at Porthcawl.*

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Ymarfer Fferylliaeth Meddygon Myddfai* (The pharmacy of the Physicians of Myddfai)

By I. and T.D. TURNER

The Legend

Myddfai is a small village in Northern Dyfed. About five miles to the south of the village is a mountain lake called Llyn-y-fan fach. Fairies are said to haunt its dark and reputedly bottomless waters and a folk tale of Llyn-y-fan fach and of the people of Myddfai identifies the descendants of a union between a fairy from this mystical lake and a mortal, resulting in a line of hereditary country doctors. The story is told how the son of Blaensawdde Farm, which is four miles south of Myddfai hamlet, was accustomed to graze his mother's cattle on the hill slopes around Llyn-y-fan fach which is directly under the precipices of the Carmarthen vans. One day he saw a beautiful girl sitting on the surface of the lake, combing her hair. He at once fell in love and tried to attract her towards him by offering her gifts of bread. To his delight, she came near and reached out a hand for the bread which he had brought for his lunch, but she withdrew it before it touched the bread, saying: *"Cras dy fara Nid hawdd fy nala"* which translated means "hard baked is thy bread. I am not easy to catch", and with that she disappeared below the surface of the lake. The disappointed youth returned to the farm and asked advice of his mother. She gave him some unbaked dough and told him to offer that to the girl. When the girl appeared he did so and she said "Unbaked is thy bread. I will not marry thee", and once again plunged below the surface of the lake. The young man was persistent, and on the third occasion brought some new bread which was perfectly baked. This time the girl came out of the lake, accepted the bread, and then plunged below the surface and reappeared a moment later with her father and identical twin sister. The old man said that he would consent to a marriage between the farmer and his daughter only if the farmer could distinguish between the two sisters. This he did by the different fashions in which they laced their shoes. The young couple were married and lived happily for many years on the farm of Esgair Llaethdy just outside Myddfai.

The father had given a dowry of many sheep, cattle, goats and horses.

On the day of the marriage, the lady of the lake had warned her husband-to-be that if he should strike her three times, the marriage must come to an end and she musst return to the lake. The girl from the lake made a good wife and bore her husband three sons. They lived happily and the warning was forgotten.

One day when the family were preparing to go to a christening the farmer asked his wife to fetch a pony from the field while he went indoors to fetch gloves. When he returned she was still standing in the same place. He tapped her on the shoulder and said "Go, go!" She paled, for he had struck her for the first time.

A few months later, at a wedding, the lady of the lake burst into tears and the farmer consolingly patted her on the shoulder and asked her why she was crying. "I weep" she replied "because the young couple's troubles are just commencing, and so are ours for you have just struck the second blow".

The years passed and the husband took geat care not to strike his wife, but one day she began laughing at a funeral. Touching her arm, the husband urged her to be quiet, saying "When people die their troubles are over" she responded "And so dear husband is our marriage. That was the third blow you have struck me. Farewell for ever". With these words, she called her animals, and led them in to Llyn-y-fan fach and there they disappeared below the surface of the water.

Of the sorrowing husband, nothing more is told but the three sons grieved for their lost mother and often went up to the mountain lake to gaze into its depths and hope to catch sight of her. One day she appeared to them bearing with her a small leather bag which she gave to Rhiwallon, the eldest son, saying to him "The mission of you and your brothers shall be to heal the sick, and in this bag are the healing secrets of the other world". She then showed them the different herbs that grew on the mountainside and instructed them in their use in the cure of all ailments. She now disappeared into the waters of Llyn-y-fan fach for the last time.

The Tradition

This delightful folk tale has done much to divert attention from the few facts which we have about the Meddyggon Myddfai and the collection of medical writings which are associated with their name in the Welsh literary tradition. Families possessing medical knowledge and skills are recorded as holding lands in the Carmarthenshire Parish of Myddfai from the 14th Century. Farms and holdings, such as Llwyn I fan Feddyg and Llwyn Maredudd Feddyg, still exist and are traditionally associated with the physicians.

There is also a south facing slope of Myndd Myddfai which is rich in ferns, bog plants and lichens and is called Pant y Meddygon, and here tradition says the doctors collected plants and herbs for their remedies. The last of the line of hereditary physicians is recorded as having practised in Myddfai in the 18th Century. They were David Jones, described as surgeon or chirurgor, who died in 1719, and John Jones, his son, who died in 1739. Their deaths are recorded on a grave in the parish church. It is also suggested that the last known practising descendant, was Dr C Rice Williams, of Aberystwyth, in 1881. Descendants, however, other than those in practice as doctors, still survive and a recent Welsh Medical Gazette names two more recent family members, and others of the family made themselves known at a Society of History of Welsh Medicine conference in Llandovery in 1980.

The Manuscripts

The learned tradition is derived from the mediaeval writings of the family preserved in manuscript form, some of these belonging to the 14th Century. Later copies have also been identified. As is traditional with medical writings, they are prefixed by introductory passages, called colophons.

This first colophon suggests that Rhiwallon and his sons were under the patronage of Rhys Gryg and that they possessed certain basic medical skills and knowledge which they committed to writing considering them sufficiently important to be carried forward to their successors.

The second colophon suggests that the writings of Rhiwallon had gained a certain reputation and were being used as a source book by the other medical practitioners or it may also suggest that the name of the family was such that it added authority when quoted as the origin of the remedies.

The two colophons suggest a double manuscript tradition. The one seems to refer to a specific text for which Rhiwallon and his sons were responsible, and the second to a collection of texts derived from various books and sources which were attributed to the almost canonical authority of Meddygon Myddfai. The early manuscripts appear to contain either one or both of the colophons.

The earliest, the Welsh School manuscript, is now kept at the British Museum and belongs to the second half of the 14th Century. The second is the text contained in the Llyfr Coch

*Abstract from a paper given at the Spring Conference Porthcawl, April 1983.

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Hergest, the Red Book of Hergest, a treasury of mediaeval Welsh literature written about 1400. The third of the early manuscripts available is of approximately the same date and is housed in the Jesus College collection. The first has never been published and still exists primarily as the original. The second, contained in the Llyfr Coch Hergest, has been published twice, firstly by Rees of Tonn and secondly in an edition of Pol Diverres, in French, entitled "Les plus ancien texte des Meddygon Myddfai". These manuscripts followed the traditional mediaeval medical collections which existed in Latin or vernacular languages other than Welsh, largely based upon classical learning where the learning had either filtered through from Western Europe having been derived directly from the Romano-Greek medical manuscripts or was reintroduced from the East through Spain after the recovery of the Greek texts from the Arab sources and the Aristotlian revival of the 11th and 12th Centuries.

The Welsh texts emphasise the range of materia medica which was available in these herbals. They consist largely of a collection of recipes which seem to be fairly common throughout Europe and were based to a large extent on the classical collections and the additions that had been made to them, particularly by the Arabs. The manuscripts contain short treatises describing commonly practised surgical procedures like lithotomy, and other diagnostic techniques such as uroscopy. They also contain some horoscopes and calendars which would indicate lucky or unlucky days for treatments such as blood-letting and cauterising. Rules of hygiene were frequently included and infrequently, magical or chemical remedies or charms.

This discussion considers the first part of the translation, prepared by Pugh and Williams and largely ignores the second part which is considered to be a fabrication designed to add falsely to the medical tradition of South Wales. The manuscripts have been examined from the pharmaceutical point of view, with particular emphasis on the herbal remedies and their efficacy and the procedures used or inferred as being used by the phsycians in the preparation of their plant material and the presentation of the drugs in various dose forms. Although a complete survey of the drugs in the translation has been made, work is continuing to determine the accuracy of the translation and the taxonomic accuracy in terms of modern botanical nomenclature of the named plants.

In common with most collections of remedies, the Myddfai manuscripts contain both vegetable and animal materials. The plant products are the more numerous and are the only group to be considered in this paper, which as stated, are limited to those described in the first part of the translation by J Pugh and J Williams.

Of the plants mentioned, ninety-five could be identified as plants known to have been referred to in earlier or later herbals. Surprisingly some of those found in earlier herbals, such as *Aconitum napellus* (Monkshood) used widely in other parts of Europe and by the Arabic physicians, were not used by the Meddygon Myddfai although the species is indigenous to Wales and other such as *Digitalis* (Foxglove) and *Papaverum* (Poppy) are used less specifically than the earlier herbals recommend. This would suggest that the initial information probably obtained from European sources was modified in use by the empirical observations of the physicians and added to in the light of experience.

Over fifty 'clinical' conditions can be identified and range from the generic description 'fever' to the specific 'haemorrhoids'. Many conditions are treated with more than one plant either singly or in combination, and the number of plants used equated with the possible complexity of the clinical condition being treated.

The occurence of herbs in more than one remedy is not as frequent as expected, for example, three plants occured in six different remedies and this was the highest figure recorded. The frequencies were:-

3 plants in 6 remedies	12 plants in 3 remedies
2 plants in 5 remedies	18 plants in 2 remedies
8 plants in 4 remedies	48 plants in 1 remedy

This shows an unexpected measure of specificity which is reinforced by the unrelated nature of the conditions treated by the 'broad spectrum' drugs used either alone or in combination: for example, *Artemesia vulgaris* (Mugwort) is used for the treatment of fever, worms, carbuncle, viper bite, intoxication and as a flea killer, and *Betonica officinalis* (Betony) for fever, urinary disorders, toothache, headache, joint pain, nose bleed and vomiting. Thus thirteen of the plant materials are recommended either singly or severally in 60 of the 184 remedies.

The multiple use of these two plants is not reflected in their recommended use in later pharmacopoeias or by experimental investigation of their pharmacological activity. *Artemesia vulgaris* has been reported as a counter-irritant and is said to cause contact dermatitis. Its relationship to santonin containing species of Artemesia could explain its vermifuge activity but does little to justify its other uses; similarly with *Betonica officinalis* in Hill's and Meyrick's herbals, Betony is referred to as a cure for headache, but there is no reference to the other conditions, and no current phytopharmaceutical information to support a specific use.

By comparison, the plant *Valerian officinalis* is used only once in an application yet the drug was mentioned in writings of the 9th and 10th centuries, and in Anglo Saxon works of the 11th century not only for its medicinal properties as a carminative and antispasmodic in hysteria but also as a spice or perfume. Contemporary preparations containing extract of Valerian and bromide and the isolate alkaloids are widely used in Europe.

An example of high potency is Stinking hellebore, *Helleborus foetidus,* which is recommended by the Meddygon for abdominal complaints. It appeared in the 1934 British Pharmacopoeia where it was described as a powerful but dangerous purgative and emmenagogue producing violent purging and vomiting. It has been found to contain glycosides called helleborins which have a strophanthin-like activity and may be used as cardiac stimulants.

By contrast, *Malva sylvestris* (Mallow) fully justifies its use in 'constipation' and abdominal complaints. Its gum-like polysaccharide content would act in the same protective manner to the gut as the alginates, its use as an emollient and poultice fomentation is acceptable, and its capacity to absorb moisture would ensure its activity as a bulk purgative, equal to agar or methylcellulose.

Hypericum perforatum (St John's Wort) was used in the treatment of fevers, urinary disorders and abdominal conditions. It is found in most herbals. An interesting and specific remedy was that of *Achillea miliforium* (Milfoil). It was used in the general treatment of coughs and urinary disorders, but specifically recommended for the treatment of vomiting of blood. The plant is to be found in the Austrian, Hungarian, Polish, Roumanian, Russian and Swiss pharmacopoeias where it is used as a diaphoretic and stimulant but recent work has confirmed its haemostatic activity and shown that the constituents aconitic acid and achillene reduce the blood clotting time in rabbits. The assumption that the Meddygon were able to use the drug in such a specific fashion suggests the practice of careful observation rather than broad empiricism.

Artemesia absinthium (Wormwort), unlike Mugwort, is still well documented in the national pharmaceopoeias of Europe, large doses are used as a stomachic and the isolate absinthin produces restlessness, vomiting, vertigo and convulsions; it is recommended by the physicians of Myddfai for the treatment of fever but there is no apparent justification for its use in such conditions.

Digitalis purpurea (Foxglove) is used for the treatment of tumours but is neglected as a cardiotonic, it is possible that its toxicity and its strong association with witchcraft prevented its inclusion in any other form, similarly with *Conium maculatum* (Hemlock), the propylpiperidine alkaloids which resemble nicotine with a central nervous system activity inducing paralysis of skeletal muscle nerve endings, the therapeutic dose is close to the toxic dose and experience may well have resulted in its use only 'in extremis'; nevertheless, its current use in spasmodic afflictions such as whooping cough and asthma are reflected in the single recipe by the physicians for the treatment of 'pneumonia'.

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Finally, the use of poppy heads for the treatment of headache only underlines the important fact that the plant materials may show geovariation in their activity. The fact that the physicians did not use poppy capsules to any degree emphasises their direct involvement with efficacy of the local medicament rather than relying on hearsay, or the claims of other manuscripts and herbals.

Certain plants were collected as entire herbs. "Take the whole herb, leaves, blossoms and seed included, and pound them together well": again "Boil the entire plant, root and seed included in ale, mead, goat's or kine milk...." or separately "gather the leaves, flowers and seed and dry them separately and keep in an oak chest....or a basket of wheaten straw covered well".

With some plants only certain parts were recommended and the conditions and post treatment carefully specified, for example "Take also the seed of the herbs when ripe and dry in an oven after baking two or three times. When dry, powder in a stone mortar, keeping the powder in a covered bottle".

Again "Take fresh chips of oak and macerate in running water till their virtues be extracted". On reflection the manuscripts demonstrate a knowledge of those factors to be taken into consideration in the collection and preparing of the herbs before compounding. Many of these factors were not proven to be correct by scientific investigation until some four or five centuries later.

External preparations included the direct application of the plant drug in both the entire and the powdered form. Formulations included poultices, emplastrums, ointments, liniments and washes.. Medicated dressings, dentrifice and fumigants whilst not strictly equivalent may be conveniently considered as members of this group.

The pharmaceutical rationale for some of the preparations is sometimes difficult to identify. For example, the direct application of 'foxglove' leaves to a tumour is said to "remove it an inch and a half from the herb"; an unlikely but also clinically unrewarding response. However, the treatment of carbuncle after removal of pus by sprinkling powdered, baked, 'wild chamomile' herb to encourage healing is more promising.

Poultices, prepared using oatmeal and sheep's suet with 'foxglove' and 'pimpernel' is a more acceptable formulation which would allow the dermal absorption of the active constituents. Emplastrums, ointments and liniments are also described. The emplastrum for headache or pain in the joints was formulated in a base of tallow, salt and wheat meal in which 'dandelion', 'wood sorrel' and 'betony' were incorporated. This plaster mass was directed to be spread on a thick cloth and applied to a joint or shaven scalp. As a counter irritant this would be an acceptable preparation even today and indeed emplastrums of this kind with lard, or wool fat as the base were being prepared as late as 1950. Some of the ointments described were more clearly emplastrums without the cloth carrier, for example, the treatment of ring worm uses white rosin (colophony and oil of terebrinth) and is warmed before application. A true ointment or unguentum should spread evenly over the skin and be of a consistency which will allow penetration of the ingredients to the sub-dermal tissues. Ointments such as that used in a head wound include as the optimum and immediate treatment, violet powder and fresh butter, the former contains iridone, a good antibacterial and butter will penetrate quickly and efficiently. The same recipe recognises that violet may not be available and advises the alternative of white of egg with linseed and for long term application a base of butter and tallow.

These alternatives emphasise that the compounder was aware of the importance of an ointment base and the way in which it could affect the efficacy of a medicament. The treatment of ague by massaging the juice of 'mugwort' and 'wormwort' in oil into one side of the body could be considered as a *liniment*, 'mugwort' in particular will release its counter irritant properties from a light oil base. *Washes* produced by adding compounds to baths were always popular remedies with the physicians but not with the patient; they were difficult to comply with and even more difficult to supervise. It could be suggested that the act of bathing was as important as the medicaments used, particularly when they included such variable extracts as those of 'mugwort', 'dwarf elder', 'butchers broom', 'elder bark' and 'mallow' in the same perparation (15). *Medicated dressings* are many and show a marked similarity to those found in earlier herbals. A common component is flax fibre with salt butter (19), a preparation which by modern standards leaves much to be desired but would serve to reduce infection and encourage healing. *Dentifrice* stimulates the 'tooth sticks' of many cultures by using the saponin and tannin containing bark of the hazel (186) which would act as an astringent and cleanse the teeth. The *fumigant* mentioned for the cure of toothache has little formulation expertise (52) and relies for its action on drawing and killing a fictitious 'tooth worm'.

Internal Preparations

The preparations for indirect and direct ingestion show a wide range of products and activity. *Eye drops* were frequently expressed directly from the plant showing an awareness of the small quantities required but also an empirical acceptance that the fresh juice would be less likely to cause harmful effect, a precursor perhaps to our present insistence on the sterility of such products. *Nasal* and *ear drops* (30) (31) were more complex and the nose was often used as the route for treating toothache. *Inhalation* was always a popular medication form, indeed group medication using this method can be found in every society that indulges in the social inhalation of soporifics; stimulants; or hallucinatories. Many such formulations are of animal origin, such as the use of burning goat's horn for the treatment of 'falling fits' an acceptable means of producing ammonia with its 'revival' properties.

All the formulations so far mentioned incorporate the entire drug or drug part but many of the preparations intended for direct ingestion demonstrate a knowledge of Galenic manipulation and approach, and suggest an awareness that the 'virtue' of a plant could be separated from the bulk tissue. Decoctions, infusions, extracts and tinctures are all described with careful attention to the quality of the solvent to be used, specifying 'spring water', or 'strong clear wheat ale', or 'pure milk'. Some extraction processes are designed to remove unwanted 'virtues' and leave a marc with more acceptable medicinal properties. Red wine is also used and would result in a product similar to the standard tinctures of the later pharmacopoeias. In a few remedies alternative extraction solvents are allowed, and in these instances the constituent to be extracted has a low pharmacological activity, for example, wheat ale or spring water are used to extract 'mallow'. The required product is a polysaccharide which is present in a fair amount and is soluble in both solvents. Goats' whey or cows' whey were sometimes used as a menstruum, and it is difficult to decide whether this was directed at the extraction of the drug or the modifying of the whey, and in examples that exist it would seem that the results could well be similar to a flavoured yoghourt with some activity derived from the drug.

The presentation of the drug in a single solid dose form as a pilulae occurs only infrequently amongst the recipes. The emetic pill prepared from 'stinking hellibore' is produced by evaporating an extract to a semisolid mass and then dividing and forming into spherical masses. Later formulations included disintegration compounds and binding agents but the basic principle of incorporating soft or dry extracts survived. A recommendation for curing vomiting requires that 'betony' be boiled in honey and pounded in a mortar then formed into four balls. These are to be administered daily "as a drink in a warm potion". This surprising dosage form must be an early precursor of our modern soluble tablet formulation.

Finally, in these dosage form examples is a reference to a cure for constipation using a suppository; the recipe directs "taking salt and second milk in equal parts of each and putting on fire, evaporating to soft waxlike mass. Making into cakes and passing into the patient's rectum". This method of presentation is frequently found in other European herbals where it was accompanied by clysters or enemas of various formulations.

In general a surprising number of pharmaceutical manipulative processes can be inferred from the recipes expressed. It is evident that while the herb is important as the origin of the 'virtue' the

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pretreatment and manipulation are considered to be of equal importance if the 'virtue' is to be expressed in the healing of the sick.

Few references are made either in compounding or in prescribing to quantity or dosage. Eggshell and spoonfull are mentioned but not defined. Elsewhere, however, there is an indication of the 'solid' and 'fluid or liquid' measures that were used.

The solid measures relied on comparison between seeds and eggs. It must be assumed that patients were counselled as to the quantity and frequency of dose. There is little evidence of 'patient compliance' although some of the instructions accompanying the remedies would require his full cooperation for success; for example for obstinate ague, "Cause him (the patient) to go into a bath and let him avoid touching the water with his arms. Let him also take the 'ground ivy' boiling it briskly and apply hot to his head. He must also be bled in his arm. He will be cured by the help of God" Again in a treatment for vomiting there is the direction to "Immerse the scrotum in vinegar". Such recommendations would suggest a fair element of psychology with the physic. Unfortunately case histories and patient comment are not available to us.

Conclusion

The manuscripts are important documents with regard to their contribution to Welsh history. Through their pages one can obtain some insight into the religious and social patterns of the time but without doubt the major contribution is to our knowledge of both the methods and materials used in their practice of medicine. It is not surprising to find that many of the remedies have survived to be included in modern pharmacopoeias where their efficacy has been proven but not superseded. Those that are no longer used have been replaced by more specific or more bioactive compounds. This development and change compares with the changes and advances encompassed within the manuscripts by comparison with the earlier Grecco-Roman and Arabic texts. The Meddygon Myddfai were not only practising physicians but also investigative practitioners, they applied knowledge available to them but also modified and added to their medical armamentarium from experience and observation. It is fortunate that their foresight in preparing a written record has been rewarded with its survival to the present day demonstrating that the mythology surrounding their origin whilst traditionally attractive serves only to embellish the universal admiration shown for these gifted Welsh healers.

Apothecaries and Other Medical Practitioners in Norwich Around 1600*

By MARGARET PELLING

In occupational analysis the provincial apothecary is usually placed among the distributive trades, sometimes among personal services, and, very rarely, among the professionals. From the medical historian's point of view the apothecary emerges from obscurity among the grocers in the course of the 16th century and thereafter, although very gradually, uses his connection with medicine to achieve a social standing akin to professional status. The expression 'proud as an apothecary' seems to reflect both the success and the limits of this strategy. Apologists for the medical profession tended to emphasise the shop connections of apothecaries as well as barbers and to play down the economic life of physicians and surgeons. The competing claims of representatives of the different parts of practice have tended among other things to obscure the fact that under any seemingly uniform heading, such as physician, surgeon and apothecary there can be found an almost infinite variety of classes and conditions. Thus even in the same town one apothecary is not necessarily like another. However it does seem clear that the provincial apothecary around 1600, although surprisingly hidden in the institutional sense, was quite likely to be as rich and as prominent in civic affairs as the state of prosperity of his setting allowed him to be. These apothecaries regularly became aldermen and were often either members of prominent families or younger sons of county gentry. Although their medical connections were strong even at this date it is a distortion to suggest that apothecaries only gained status as a result of their connection with physicians. Around 1600 many apothecaries had already achieved higher status on the local level than any physicians could then confer.

Given the comparative mysteriousness of provincial apothecaries in the early modern period it seemed worthwhile to attempt an intensive survey of individuals on the local level. This has become possible for East Anglia and London as a result of a biographical enquiry into all medical practitioners for these areas which has been undertaken by the Wellcome Unit of the History of Medicine, Oxford. This investigation has gone further than the pioneering work of John Raach who tended to take the claims of academically trained physicians at face value. We have instead adopted the widest possible definition of medical practitioner, and have used the term medical practitioner in preference to such collective terms as medical men, doctors, surgeons, or quacks. We have counted as a practitioner anyone who was regarded by contemporaries as acting in that capacity. The criterion of effectiveness is not much use as it is just as likely to tell against the academically qualified person as against the cunning men and women. The various licensing systems in operation around 1600 are no criterion for selection as they often conflicted with each other and only affected a proportion of practitioners. The contemporary consumer was aware that the practitioners of his own time, respectable or not, could kill as well as cure. At the same time this critical and even sceptical consumer absorbed an enormous amount of medical care. Minor ailments worried him as much as major ones. Health had to be preserved as well as restored. Constant reassurance was needed as to whether all systems were functioning normally. The eliminative and the generative functions were not surprisingly especially important. Medicine in fact acted as a rich and various source of psychological support. The 16th century patient was fully aware of the wide range of practitioners available to him and made his choices according to his own — or his friends' — judgement as to his own condition. It is important to stress patient choice because it was the actions of patients as much if not more than the audacity of so called quacks, or the administrative limitations of contempory society, which limited attempts by colleges and companies and clergy to restrict the number and kind of practitioners.

On the basis of these premises we have arrived at a very high ratio of practitioners to patients in the early modern period, probably higher than 1 to 400. In Norwich the ratio is more like 1 to 200. Rather surprisingly, this seems to be as true for well-populated rural areas as for London and major provincial towns. Raach of course pointed to the high incidence of academically qualified physicians in the countryside, but it seems likely that the burden of practice in the villages was not borne by these but by women of various degrees, priest-practitioners, ecclesiastical licensees, and cunning men and women. There were thus many practitioners, but few if any of them can usefully be regarded as being involved in medicine full time. This is probably a criticism which can justifiably be made of most occupational analysis and

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history of the professions, that it is anachronistically based on the very recent notion of the full time job — or, alternatively, the all-absorbing vocation. Agrarian historians, more aware than most of such factors as seasonality, have recently pointed to the surprising range of occupations pursued on a part-time or occasional basis by members of rural communities.

Urban historians have been reluctant to abandon the idea that freemen's rolls and similar sources made it possible to separate the working population of a town into convenient species whose rise and fall could be measured and used to arrive at a picture of social and economic change. It would not be sensible to drop this approach entirely. Nonetheless, whenever an economic population is looked at closely three features tend to emerge. First, the number involved in the particular activity is larger than the formal records suggest. Secondly, the members of the group differ widely from each other. Thirdly, any one member is quite likely to be engaged in a considerable variety of economically or socially significant pursuits, many of which turn out to be traditionally associated with that trade, or arising out of locally dominant industries. Thus I have found that Norwich barbersurgeons were involved in tallowchandling and netmaking, which are traditional diversifications for barbersurgeons, with textile-related crafts which had to do with Norwich's main industries and with the increased production in England of small consumer goods. In addition it seems clear that all branches of the medical profession were inclined to be involved in the drink trade, either as parties to licences, as unlicensed tipplers, as alehousekeepers, or as distillers. The difficulty of separating food and drink from medicines, drugs and even poisons has been recognised by anthropologists, but this has not been sufficiently recognised by historians of medical institutions or even by economic historians.

There are at least two essential reasons why the widest possible range of sources has been used to build up the biographical index. Firstly it is necessary to be certain of obtaining a minimum figure at least for the total of possible practitioners; and secondly to obtain some picture of the different activities of given individuals. Obviously it is impossible to disregard sources like freeman's rolls. However a parish register, or a will, will often give occupational information which expands on that contained in a freeman's roll. Original apprenticeship enrolments will often show that an apprentice was intending to be trained in more than one craft. Court records will often be very revealing of the other businesses that the individual might be engaged in.

My own work along these lines has largely been in reference to the barbersurgeons. However it is also possible to consider the apothecaries of Norwich as one part of the total of approximately 300 medical practitioners which I have located there between the dates of 1550 and 1640. The apothecaries, including apprentices, number about 40, or rather more than an eighth. The group nearest to them in size, though slightly smaller, comprises the various kinds of practitioners of physic. Supposing this 90-year period to represent three generations, there may have been 13 or 14 apothecaries in Norwich at any one time. Given a maximum population of 15,000 for Norwich in the early 1600s, this gives a figure of one apothecary for about 1200 people, as compared with Robert's estimate of 1 to 2000 people in provincial towns. People known only as grocers have not been included in this estimate. The situation in East Anglia outside Norwich confirms that apothecaries, unlike barbers and surgeons, were rarely found at this time in small market towns. However grocers were and it seems certain that grocers as well as surgeons at this date sold apothecary goods in village shops. A good example of the commercial versatility of provincial surgeons in the early 17th century is William White of Midhurst in Sussex, a small town only 12 miles from Chichester. White's 1630s inventory included barber's gear, surgical instruments, distilling equipment, apothecary drugs, wine and tobacco. This combination suggests a well-developed retail side. In other circumstances of course apothecaries in towns supplied surgeons in the villages — for example Peter Gough of Worcester, apothecary and mercer, who died about 60 years before, worth about £150, and had money owing him by five surgeons.

Because of the affinity of apothecaries with such dominant groups as the mercers, most historians regard the occupation of apothecary as heavily restricted in this period, with rights of entry strictly controlled. Certainly the numbers involved are fairly small. However, although apprenticeships and freedoms of apothecaries are well recorded in Norwich there is no sign of a separate spicers' or apothecaries' gild. Because of Norwich's size one might expect a separate gild rather than the combined companies found in smaller towns. The barbersurgeons, a middling trade, were separately organised in Norwich. This company, although it included the physicians, shows no signs of including apothecaries as well. Organisationally the apothecaries only emerge in 1622. Their relation to commercial elites such as merchants, grocers, drapers, goldsmiths, brewers and hosiers — and their distance from such groups as the barbersurgeons — is shown by their being chosen to lead one of the 12 so-called grand companies into which all the Norwich crafts and trades were then divided. For a few years afterwards the city records note the names of masters of the Apothecaries Grand Company. This conglomerate led by the apothecaries consisted of upholsterers, tanners, stationers, carpenters, painters and basketmakers. Each of the other leaders of a Grand Company was a trade exercising some kind of economic dominance in Norwich. The organisation was primarily administrative and was aimed at getting more Norwich craftsmen to take out their freedoms, elect company officials and enrol apprenticeships. This administrative effort, although shortlived, had some effect, which makes it difficult to test in Norwich, Roberts' view that apothecaries greatly increased in numbers from the early 17th century owing to the growth of the trade in imported drugs. The Norwich apothecaries' connections with the trades that ruled the city are further confirmed by the lack of variety of occupation in their families as compared with the barbersurgeons. The apothecaries were the sons of tailors, grocers, carpenters, apothecaries, fletchers, yeomen, merchants and gentry. Their sons became hosiers, grocers, goldsmiths, physician-surgeons, apothecaries, and silkrasers. Apothecaries also tended to be well-connected by marriage with other ruling families. At least 7 out of the total of 40 apothecaries were known as grocers as well, not just before but after 1600. Two were apprenticed to be trained in both crafts as late as the 1620s. This can be duplicated in smaller centres such as Southampton. Most strikingly, 5 out of the 40 apothecaries became aldermen, and three of them became mayor; a sixth was father of a mayor. This kind of officeholding is totally absent at this time among the other medical crafts.

It is perhaps surprising, in view of this deep entrenchment in the city's administration, that the apothecaries as a whole show almost as little tendency to progress in an orderly manner from apprenticeship to freedom to mastership, as the barbersurgeons did. Over a third never took out their freedoms at all. One apparently delayed doing so until the age of 53. Of those known to have married and raised families, most had had several if not all of their children before becoming freemen, which may indicate that they thought there was little advantage in acquiring for their sons the right to freedom by patrimony. For nearly a half of the group there is no indication that they were ever apprenticed themselves. An even higher proportion, threequarters, never enrolled an apprentice of their own. Thus if the work of preparing compounds did make assistance essential for apothecaries, this labour was often not provided by apprentices. As with the barbersurgeons it is a case of a few masters having each a large number of apprentices. Two of these unusual masters were also known as grocers. Among the barbersurgeons there is evidence that these, whom I have called employers of labour, were chiefly those who were committed to more than one trade. This monopolising of apprentices by a few masters at this time seems to be a general phenomenon in towns and needs further investigation. It should be noted that, compared with other towns such as York, the proportion of Norwich masters becoming freemen was relatively low. Nonetheless the failure to become free is more surprising in a group such as the apothecaries. Some of the other features may be due to defects in the surviving records, but if this is true it casts considerable doubt on the validity of a great many occupational analyses and other studies such as the

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migration of apprentices which are carried out on the basis of what are supposed to be comprehensive records of freedom and apprenticeship.

In the valuable article by Matthews on the Norwich apothecaries he quoted extracts from the records of the Mayor's Court which pointed to the involvement of some apothecaries in the buying and selling of grain for starchmaking and brewing. The relation of this to the drink trade, and the way in which a prosperous apothecary could act in other ways to encourage the retail side of the drink trade, is underlined by the fact that apothecaries, like barbersurgeons, acted as guarantors for recognizances which were required from tipplers and alehousekeepers. Norwich apothecaries were also connected to the expensive and capital intensive end of the food market. The city authorities paid Norwich apothecaries for such items as banqueting stuff when London dignitaries were being entertained, and gifts such as marchpanes in boxes for official presentation at ceremonies such as weddings. Inventories make it clear that apothecaries were also involved in distilling. Norwich apothecaries often owned or leased land in the countryside but, even when the younger sons of gentry, do not seem to have acquired property in order to escape from the city to a country estate. Like the orchards and gardens which they owned and used in the city, their landholdings may have been valued more for their produce than for status. Even the richest Norwich apothecaries seem to have remained in the city with their shop as part of the house no matter how substantial the house was. Most surviving wills and inventories mention a shop as well as, less commonly, drying chambers, stillrooms and warehouses. Unfortunately the few surviving Norwich inventories do not duplicate the detailed lists of apothecary goods found for example by Rowe and Trease for the Exeter apothecary Thomas Baskerville.

There is no doubt about the involvement of Norwich's apothecaries in medicine at this early period. The earliest instance was one cited by Matthews, that is, George Hill an apothecary who was imprisoned by the Mayor and Aldermen in 1539 for unlawfully practising not physic as might have been expected but surgery. The high civic status of some apothecaries in towns was enough to give them a position of authority in respect of other medical practitioners. In 1608 the medicines of John Grove were examined by two physicians in the presence of two aldermen who were also apothecaries. One of these aldermen apothecaries also gave a reference to a Norfolk man who used it to obtain an ecclesiastical licence to practise surgery. An interesting reflection of the ubiquity of medical practice at this time is the case of Thomas Tyrell. Tyrell came from what was then a strongly Protestant gentry family based at Gipping Hall in Suffolk. One of his ancestors was the alleged murderer of the princes in the tower Sir James Tyrell. Thomas's brothers were educated at Cambridge and the Inns of Court in London; he was evidently a younger son and made his way as an apothecary in Norwich. He served an apprenticeship with the apothecary John Grey who, although he took other apprentices who like Tyrell had been born outside Norwich, had himself lived and worked in Norwich for forty years. It is interesting that, although he had a son, Grey on his death directed that the contents of his apothecary's shop be sold up. Similarly Thomas Tyrell left his plate and household goods and the 'furnishments of my shop and all the drugs simples compositions and other things' to his wife to be sold, provided that she raised their son in the true Protestant religion. To various relatives Tyrell left valued personal possessions such as his watch, his sword, and a gold signet ring with the Tyrell arms engraved on it; but to his mother, still living at Gipping with his father and his brother, he left a silver syringe, his best silver spatula, and the best spice cabinet or box in his shop. It seems likely that the elder Mrs Tyrell was yet another country gentlewoman interested in certain aspects of medicine, and that her son's choice of business could be seen as a commercial and urban extension of his mother's influence in a rural setting. Other such women were similarly influential, notably the mother of the naturalist John Ray.

Two more examples might be given to illustrate the points I have been making. A Norwich apothecary who draws attention by his prominence is George Birch who was mayor in 1621 and whose nephew was also mayor. George, the son of a citizen carpenter, took out his freedom and enrolled four apprentices over a period of 20 years. At the time of his death in the early 1630s he lived in a substantial house of about 20 rooms and offices in St Andrews parish. He also had property on lease from both the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral and from the city. His large house incorporated a warehouse and a shop as well as a drying chamber and a distilling room. It also had a lodging chamber in the attic which may have simply been let out but also could have been used to accommodate guests who were also patients. Birch's house shows every sign of that increase in domestic comfort, not to say conspicuous consumption, which Hoskins has identified as occurring from the end of the 16th century. Most of his rooms had fireplaces, one for a coal rather than a woodfire, curtains, rugs, as well as refinements like velvet cushions and footstools, looking glasses, pictures, maps, books, yellow silk quilts, red and white taffeta curtains, white satin embroidered hangings, and close stools. The contents of the Birch shop and warehouse are unfortunately not given in detail. Birch shows more evidence than most of being engaged in wholesale trading. He had a brother established in London who may also have been in business. A relative in business in London is a feature of other families in Norwich. He also had £4 a year from the city for what was called 'performing the place of ministering physic and surgery to the poor in the Hospital', the hospital being St Giles, which was by the end of the 16th century an almshouse run by the city. Most of the sick poor were not in fact treated in St Giles. Instead the city paid for them to be treated either where they happened to be, or in the old lazarhouses outside the city walls. Most of this work was done by the barbersurgeons or by women practitioners, although there is some record of apothecaries being paid directly to assist the poor. It may be that Birch's office at the Hospital was a sinecure, a perquisite readily available to aldermen. However the Hospital certainly had a sick ward and woman inmates acting as nurses early in the seventeenth century. Also the appointment is reminiscent of the important position occupied in the London Hospitals by apothecaries, although in the Norwich case it was clearly not residential. The post at the Hospital was transferred to one of Birch's sons after his death, but this son (John) did not lack qualifications. He described himself as an apothecary but a room in his father's house had, since his occupancy, acquired the title of 'the doctor's study'. John apparently did not take out his freedom or indenture apprentices but, although moving even further into the physic line than his father, he did not stop carrying on the business of an apothecary. At his death, which took place five years after his father's, the stillhouse contained one great brass and pewter limbeck, a smaller limbeck, 4 great pewter stills with pewter bottoms, and a cistern of lead for the stills to stand in. The diverse boxes and mortars, syrups waters and drugs in the shop and warehouse were valued at £64, about a fifth of the value of John Birch's moveable property. The Birches' commitment to distilling belongs to the same period as that of the surgeon William White of Midhurst already mentioned. However 'distiller' is given as a separate occupation in formal records in Norwich as much as twenty years earlier, in 1610. This heralds the emergence of distillation as a large scale commercial process worth attempting to monopolise. The London Distillers Company was constituted with royal backing in 1638 as a further breakdown of the Grocers Co. The opposition to it included not only the Apothecaries and the Vintners but also the Barbersurgeons.

Variations on Themes

Another example among the Norwich apothecaries gives further variations on the themes of apothecaries, medicine, and respectability. Thomas Carter senior was a figure like Birch on a more minor scale. One of Carter's sons, Joseph, followed his father and took out his freedom as an apothecary; another son went to university with the help of periodic grants from the city out of the revenues of St Giles Hospital. Another son, called Thomas after his father, was not so satisfactory. In 1599 he was imprisoned for fathering an illegitimate child. It was probably this younger Thomas who was charged by the ecclesiastical authorities at about the same time with practising physic without a licence. He was

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excommunicated but later absolved. On the other hand given the example of the Birches and others, the person accused could just as easily have been Thomas Carter senior. Other examples show that while the ecclesiastical authorities picked up the occasional empiric, they also queried the credentials of practitioners made conspicuous not by their misdemeanours but by their prominent local standing.

In summary, therefore, provincial apothecaries in a town like Norwich at the beginning of the 17th century seem to have been in a strong position to have the best of all worlds. Many of them were well connected socially and politically as well as being deeply entrenched in city administration, which some of them had been since the medieval period. Many were closely associated with the elite of the medical profession and they were also able to transfer smoothly into medicine themselves, particularly in the second generation. The dramatic decisions being taken by London apothecaries do not find a strong echo in Norwich. Nor does the figure of the successful apothecary-merchant-gentleman disappear from the provincial urban scene. Nonetheless from the perspective of 1600 the position of apothecaries appears afterwards to decline. Other members of the ruling élites of the time shared the same fate, in particular the grocer, the mercer and the draper. The causes of this change are probably to be sought not only in the relation of apothecaries to the medical profession but in the massive changes taking place in the wider economic world.

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Spring Conference, Porthcawl

Left: Among the palm trees? Mr. T. D. Turner who contributed so much to the success of the conference and Dr. W. E. Court.
Below: Miss D. Jones and Dr. J. G. L. Burnby, perusing the "Redwood" exhibit.

Congratulations:
To Miss D. A. Hutton former president of the Society and currently a member of the Committee on being designated a Fellow of the Pharmaceutical Society "for distinction in the history of pharmacy.

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Professor Theophilus Redwood (1806-92)*

By P.H. THOMAS

The Redwoods of Glamorgan and Gwent relating to this paper had their origins in Somerset. Their connection with South Wales goes back to the early 18th century, and a hundred years before that time a member of the family with a public conscience had done much to propagate knowledge by his part in the foundation of Bristol City Library. Opened in 1615, that institution was housed until 1740 in a lodge which Robert Redwood, a city merchant, had given for the purpose to the Mayor and Commonalty.

The first of the Redwood family to settle in Glamorgan was Isaac who married Mary Walters of Batsleys in St. Athan parish. His son of the same name was the father of Thomas who after his second marriage settled as a tanner and schoolmaster at Boverton in Llantwit Major. In 1811 Thomas' twin sister Margaret at Llanmaes parish church married Charles Vachell, junior, (1784-1859), the Cardiff apothecary.

By his second marriage with Mrs. Elizabeth Jones, (daughter of Thomas Holland of Aberthaw and widow of Evans Jones of Boverton), Thomas Redwood acquired landed property in the Boverton area. He was thus able to donate the site on which Bethesda'r Fro Chapel was built in 1806. In 1811 both he and his wife became Quakers and in 1813, they applied for membership for their four children. In 1840 Thomas Carlyle referred to Mrs. Redwood as a "venerable Quaker mother". The children whom she bore to Thomas Redwood were Charles, Elizabeth, Theophilus and Lewis.

Born in 1802, Charles became a lawyer with an office in Cowbridge, and in 1830's and early 40's lived at the Cottage, Llandough. His aged parents appear to have resided with him and the two died there, the father in 1840 and the mother in 1846. Soon after the mother's death Charles removed to the family house at Boverton. At both Llandough and Boverton he had the privilege of entertaining his friend and correspondent, Thomas Carlyle. Lewis, Charles' youngest brother trained as a doctor and settled in practice at Rhymney, Gwent. He was succeeded in this practice by his son and grandson.

Since Thomas Redwood was a schoolmaster he was personally responsible for the elementary education of his children. Theophilus born on 9th April 1806 and baptised at Bethesda'r Fro Chapel on 12 April 1807 received no further formal education. At the age of fourteen he was sent to the town of Cardiff as a temporary assistant to his brother-in-law Charles Vachell who, like his father before him, had received a medical training. Having trained at Middlesex Hospital, London, and qualified in surgery, Vachell jnr., returned to Cardiff, set himself up as a surgeon, married Theophilus' sister Margaret, and later, on the retirement of his father, took over the family's "pharmaceutical" business.

It was not at all uncommon in those days for a surgeon or apothecary to combine the work of a medical man with the retail and wholesale business of a chemist.

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries both the apothecaries and chemists and druggists functioned as physicians to the poor under all circumstances, and the wealthy whenever the distress and danger were not great. Accordingly, in his capacity as Mr. Vachell's assistant, young Redwood soon came to grips with real surgical problems in addition to participating actively in the daily flurry of business in a shop crowded with customers. Quite early in his appenticeship Theophilus showed real flair for healing and regularly performed minor surgery such as venesection, teeth extraction, and incision of abscesses. Mr. Vachell, fully aware of the lad's unusual capabilities and potential, pressed him to stay on as a permanent assistant. We shall see, however, that lurking doubts with regard to this generous offer existed in Thoephilus' mind.

For three years Theophilus applied himself wholehartedly to a wide variety of highly practical pharmaceutical tasks. But fired from boyhood with a burning ambition, he did not react kindly to this kind of life. In spite of his close kinship with the Vachells, he hankered after more attractive work with a wider technical bias. A glorious opportunity presented itself when a Quaker lady visited his father's house and arranged for his transfer to the pharmaceutical firm of John Bell and Co., established at 338 Oxford Street, London since 1798.

Accordingly, in 1823, Theophilus embarked on a new and exciting three-year period of apprenticeship in the Metropolis. His earliest chores consisted of putting up stock, filling the bottles, and weighing up Seidlitz powders. Later, he was given the responsibility of preparing infusions and decoctions, and in due course he was put in control of "repeats". It was common place for a senior assistant like Theophilus to commence his duties at eight o'clock in the morning and not finish until 11 o'clock at night. After a time he was promoted to the head dispensing counter.

Redwood's evenings were spent studiously in the counting-house at the back of the shop or in his bedroom. At breakfast and teatime conversation was strictly taboo, since all the assistants were expected to read. There was a book-case in the dining room containing a few tomes, mostly religious, together with A.T. Thomson's *London Dispensatory,* Thomas' *Practice of Physic* and similar titles. Light literature was definitely out of the question in the Quaker household.

By 1827, however, the wheel of fortune had turned successfully in Redwood's favour. In that year John Bell's eldest surviving son, Jacob, joined his father's firm as an apprentice after spending four years in the Quaker school at Darlington. Young Bell and Theophilus soon struck up a firm friendship, which continued and grew stronger until the early death of Bell in 1859. From the commencement of their association the studies of these two men with similar pharmaceutical aspirations were carried on in unison along parallel paths. The pair attended lectures on chemistry at the Royal Institution and converted the roof at 338, Oxford Street into a laboratory complete with furnace for chemical experiments and tables for animal dissections, the latter being performed in connection with comparative anatomy classes conducted at King's College.

By now, John Bell's business had expanded so much that he offered a prize open to general competition for a plan to enlarge and transform the shop. Suffice to say, Theophilus produced a detailed blue-print which was hailed as the best entry and accepted as forming the nucleus of the whole alteration. His natural aptitude for designing the lay-out of pharmaceutical establishments was to reveal itself again and again in connection with the founding of the School of Pharmacy.

In 1830, he left Oxford Street and took the surprising step of branching out on his own in Crawford Street where he built up a thriving dispensing business. He also set up small-scale plant for the wholesale manufacture of chemical and pharmaceutical products. It is interesting to observe that he talked very little about this period of his life, perhaps because it was completely out of tune with his penchant for research and scholarship.

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Meanwhile, Jacob Bell was waxing rich from the proceeds of his pharmacy. His ample income permitted him to mix in fashionable society. Despite his brilliant social success he was too much the visionary to cast aside his business connections or to neglect the shop which had made him financially secure. He wisely continued to cultivate the acquaintance of his pharmaceutical confreres, taking especial care to include Theophilus, whose sterling qualities he had recognised from the beginning. In turn, the association with Jacob Bell and the elite who surrounded him served to enrich the young man from Boverton in a number of ways.

Towards the end of the 18th century a bitter dispute arose between the apothecaries on the one hand, and the chemists and druggists on the other. The apothecaries declared that the chemists and druggists had encroached on their calling by selling pharmaceutical preparations and compounding the prescriptions of the physicians. By 1802, however, they had resolved their differences because all three parties banded together to protect their mutual interests against the Medicine Act, which, in spite of their loud protests, was passed that year and succeeded in limiting their powers. The apothecaries then complained that chemists and druggists had usurped a large part of their profits and so they appealed to Parliament. This resulted in the Apothecaries' Act of 1815, a piece of legislation which in effect made the Society of Apothecaries responsible for the training and registration of the majority of medical practitioners.

The bickering, however, still continued among these various factions as to who was to do what and as to where the division of labour began or ended. The parting of the ways was now at hand, for most apothecaries drifted towards the practice of medicine, leaving chemists and druggists in a legal position to evolve slowly as the nation's pharmacists.

In 1841 the chemists and druggists were placed in an invidious position as a result of a subtle Bill promoted by the apothecaries to reform radically the practice of medicine. If it became law, the former would no longer be able to recommend a simple remedy or give medical advice, and worst of all, they would come under the control, without representation, of a body dominated by apothecaries. The chemists and druggists could stand it no longer and so they began to organise strong opposition. In fairness, many of them were ready to admit that they were fortunate in being able to practise pharmacy since they had no fixed standards of training and examination as did the apothecaries. Leading pharmacists like Thomas Morson, William Allen, Jacob Bell, and Theophilus Redwood recognised the fact that many of their colleagues were deficient in professional knowledge, so they united to remove the immediate threat of the 1841 Bill. In addition a few of this group decided to form a society which had the two-fold purpose of protecting the interest of pharmacists and improving their training. It must be remembered that scientific and technical education in the United Kingdom was sadly neglected both by industry and government of the day. Laboratories for instruction in chemistry were non-existent, with the result that students wishing to become *au fait* with all analytical procedures were forced to follow courses on the Continent.

It had now become evident that pharmacy would have to be placed on a more scientific footing if it were to survive, and some immediate drastic measures introduced to improve the system of education so as to silence the many critics. On 25 March 1841 Jacob Bell gave what he called a pharmceutical tea-party, to which he invited leading chemists and druggists together with distinguished medical men of the metropolis to discuss the establishment of a pharmaceutical society. Three weeks later, on 15 April, at a public meeting held at the *Crown and Anchor* tavern in the Strand the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain was founded, having as its aims the union of the members of the trade into one body, the safe-guarding of general interest and advancement of scientific knowledge. To accomodate the Society, premises were taken at 17 Bloomsbury Square in December 1841.

The lectures and papers given at the tea-parties were duly published at the direct instigation of Jacob Bell in a Society organ entitled *The Transactions of the Pharmaceutical Meetings,* the first number of which appeared in July 1841. Prior to this there was no specialist journal in this country devoted to pharmacy. In the second number, dated 1 August, the title was changed to *Pharmaceutical Transactions.* Bell was not only the proprietor of this new venture, but also assumed the position of editor, in which capacity he wrote all or nearly all the leading articles, while the remainder of the Journal was under the immediate management of Theophilus Redwood, who acted as sub-editor. Redwood was particularly conspicuous in his capacity as chief advisor being quite inexhaustible with his original suggestions on all matters pharmaceutical. On Bell's death in 1859 the *Journal* became the property of the Society, and in accordance with his wish, the editorship was vested in Professors Redwood and Bentley.

Plans were formulated for commencing courses of systematic instruction in botany, materia medica, chemistry, and pharmacy, and professors were appointed — Dr. A.T. Thomson in botany, Dr Pereira in materia medica, Mr. Fownes in chemistry, and Mr. Redwood in pharmacy.

A humble start was made in 1842 with two bookcases to form a library and Professor Redwood was appointed as its first librarian, a post he held until about 1888. A museum, comprising two display cases was commenced in 1843, with Redwood acting as curator until 1855, and as joint curator with Dr. Robert Bentley until 1864. A further development of great significance, giving the Society the prestige it sorely needed, was the granting of a Royal Charter of Incorporation on 18 February 1843.

Soon some of the keener students were anxious to have practical instruction in chemistry, so a back room on the second floor was planned and equipped for the purpose by Professor Redwood. It should be pointed out that this was the first institution of its kind in London purposely designed to provide practical classes in this subject throughout the day under the direction of a full-time professor. Among the prominent students who worked there was Daniel Hanbury (1825-75), whose Quaker father was a junior partner in the famous pharmacy at Plough Court. As a result of these innovations Redwood was appointed Director of the Chemical Laboratories. On the resignation of George Fownes in 1846 Redwood was appointed to the joint chair of chemistry and pharmacy. At forty years of age our worthy had achieved much, but his best was yet to come.

The unique laboratory project was so successful that the Society's Council commissioned the Director to establish and equip a second laboratory in order to meet the growing demands for practical tuition. It was designed by him to take twenty-one additional pupils and constructed at the basement and garden of No 17.

In those nether regions the professor had his personal rooms for consultation and analysis. There, for forty years he conducted a considerable amount of chemical research for the benefit of science and humanity. The benevolent and modest gentleman was greatly esteemed by his students.

Mr. Morson's house in Southampton Row was a rendezvous for many of the outstanding British and foreign scientists of that period. Leading continental chemists such as Liebig of Giessen University; Mitscherlich, Rose, Guibort and Robiquet were often guests at the house. Professor Redwood must also have been a frequent visitor for the simple reason that in 1845 he took Charlotte Elizabeth, Mr. Morson's eldest daughter, as his wife. Redwood tells us that some of the former students could look back with interest to the visits of Professors Liebig and Rose who went through the laboratories and discussed with the students the various experiments in hand. The College of Chemistry, under Dr. Hofmann, and the Birbeck Laboratory at University College, London, under Professor Fownes, were built soon afterwards, the latter of these being constructed on the same principle as the one in Bloomsbury Square.

In 1846 the Cavendish Society was founded for the promotion of science, and it is noteworthy that Professor Redwood was appointed secretary. In 1852 he was made secretary of the Chemical Society jointly with Sir Benjamin Brodie and continued to act in this capacity until 1865, from which date he held the

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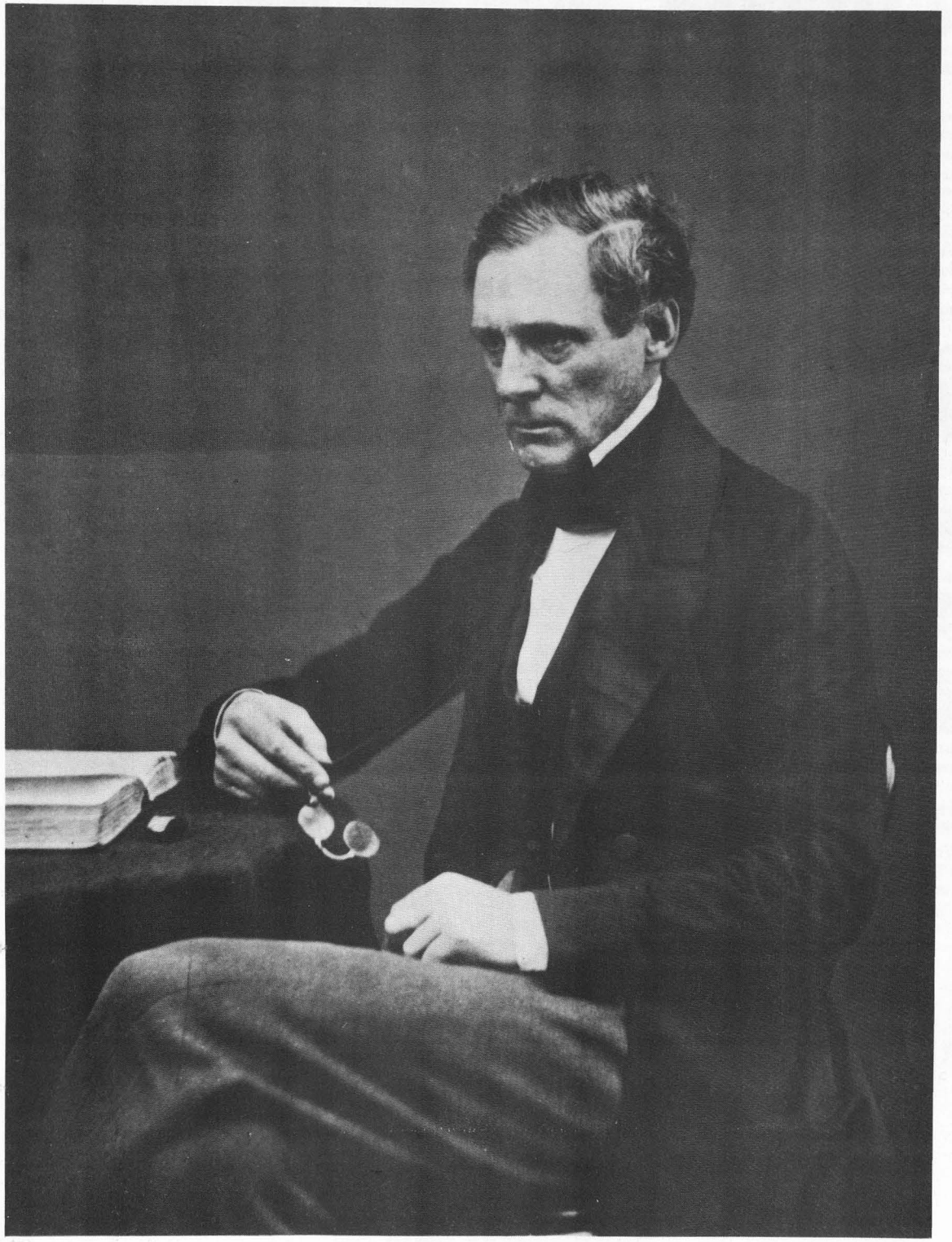

Professor Theophilus Redwood

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treasureship for five years. These activities brought him into intimate contact with many brilliant chemists.

Despite the heavy demands on his time he brought out in 1847 a modernised edition of Gray's *Supplement to the Pharmacopeia,* a book in which the text was re-cast and almost entirely re-written. It was welcomed by retail chemists since there were available few reference books written on purely pharmaceutical lines. A second edition left the press in 1848, with the third and last in 1857.

In 1847 the German C.F. Mohr published his *Lehrbuck der Pharmaceutischen Technik* in which he not only gave an account of pharmaceutical apparatus then in daily use but also examples of his own modifications and inventions applicable to laboratory procedures. No such equivalent English work existed but this state of affairs was soon rectified. The printer's ink in Mohr's text was barely dry when Theophilus translated it into English and published it in 1849 under the title *Practical Pharmacy.* In so doing he had met the needs of several generations of pharmaceutical students. It was extremely well-illustrated with over four hundred wood-cuts and served as a first-class introduction to laboratory practice for many years. Later in the same year a Philadelphia pharmacist, Professor William Procter, jnr., edited an American issue of Redwood's translation with further additions under the same title for use in the New World.

Redwood also wrote the chemical and pharmaceutical portions of an abridged addition of Pereira's classical work on *Materia Medica,* published in 1872. He was also editor of many editions of Pereira's *Selecta e Praescriptis,* a book designed to help the student to learn prescription Latin. Among his other writings must be mentioned the continuation of an essay by his co-adjutor Jacob Bell, *The Historical Sketch of the Progress of Pharmacy in Great Britain,* London, 1880. Furthermore, he was a regular contributor to the *Pharmaceutical Journal* throughout the whole of his career.

As the years passed by the Pharmaceutical Society made steady progress in acquiring a healthy reputation for itself. Thus, in 1854, the Royal College of Physicians sought the advice of the Council of the Pharmaceutical Society in revising the outdated *London Pharmacopoeia.* Moreover, a committee set up for this purpose chose Professor Redwood as its honorary secretary, for he had now become a dynamic power in pharmaceutical spheres. In the year following the passing of the epoch-making Medical act of 1858, the committee was placed under the control of the newly formed General Medical Council with the set task of sifting the best material from the *London, Dublin and Edinburgh Pharmacopoeias.* The work was published in 1864. It is noteworthy that the 1867, 1874 and 1885 editions of the *British Pharmacopoeia* were also scrutinised by Redwood before publication.

When public analysts were first appointed under the Sale of Food and Drugs Act (1875), Theophilus Redwood became one of the first chemists to hold such an office, retaining it until his death in 1892. In these duties he was assisted by his second son, T. Horne Redwood. The Society of Public Analysts, founded in 1874, demonstrated their admiration of Redwood by electing him as their first president. It is of quite some interest that Theophilus' eldest son, Thomas Boverton Redwood was trained as a pharmacist. Later in life he became a world-wide expert and consultant on petroleum and its products. Among his many appointments and distinctions may be mentioned his F.R.S. (Edinburgh) and hon.D. Sc. (Ohio University). Knighted in 1905, he became a baronet in 1911.

Professor Redwood was endowed with great courage and a fine physique. Even in his sixties and seventies he was blessed with remarkable energy which he used unselfishly for the academic and political advancement of his beloved Society. In 1869 he was chosen by the Pharmaceutical Society to act as delegate to the International Pharmaceutical Conference in Vienna. In 1876 he became President of the British Pharmaceutical Conference at Glasgow; and a year later at Plymouth. On 1 August 1881 he was President of the International Pharmaceutical Conference held in London. A number of societies conferred honorary membership upon him including the American Pharmaceutical Association and the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy.

After giving forty years of his life to the lecture-room, the laboratories and the Society, he decided to retire. On the 1 July 1885 by the unanimous vote of Council he received the title of Emeritus Professor. His last public appearance was on 18 August 1891 at the Pharmaceutical Conference at Cardiff where, in very good spirits, he addressed the meeting with his usual vigour and lucidity.

At the end of the Pharmaceutical Society's annual meeting in May 1887 a large number of subscribers gathered for a formal ceremony in which a truly life-like portrait of the Emeritus Professor by the artist, Sydney Hodges, was handed over to the Society for safe-keeping. At the same congregation it was decided to found a scholarship which should bear the professor's name and perpetuate his memory. This was accomplished on 7 March 1888.

After the death of Charles in 1855 Professor Redwood probably became owner of Orchard House, the family property at Boverton. It was there his wife died on 17 September 1868 at the age of forty-five. The professor retained the property to the end of his days and seems to have spent much of his retirement in the quiet village. He passed away on 5 March 1892 and was buried at Llantwit Major churchyard where the family grave can be seen to this day. Soon after his move to London in 1823 he was transferred to the Westminster meeting of Quakers and one wonders whether he was associated with the Friends for the remainder of his life. It is interesting to note that his younger brother Lewis resigned on religious grounds in 1831.

So we end as we begun with a note on the Quakers. No one has any doubts whatsoever as to the valuable contribution made by members of the Society of Friends to pharmacy and medicine in the last three hundred years. For more information on this fascinating topic may the writer refer the reader to an excellent survey by Margaret Stiles (now Phillips) to be found in Poynter's *Evolution of Pharmacy in Britain* (Pitman Medical : 1965).

Bibliographical note.

A detailed biographical notice of Theophilus Redwood appeared in the *Pharmaceutical Journal* and Transactions, 3rd series, vol XXII (1891-2), pp 763-6, and a tribute paid to him at a meeting of the Council of the Pharmaceutical Society is quoted at length in the same volume, pp. 833-41. A portrait and profile appeared in the *Chemist and Druggist,* vol. XIV (1873), pp. 336-40, and again in the *Pharmaceutical Journal,* vol. CXLI (1938), p. 677. *The Historical Sketch...*has already been mentioned. Valuable material can be gleaned from T.E. Wallis, *History of the School of Pharmacy* (London, 1964). Reference has also been made to various articles and notices in the *Chemical News;* the obituary in the *Western Mail,* 7 March 1892; M.P Earles chapter "The pharmacy schools of the nineteenth century" in F.N.L. Poynter, *The Evolution of pharmacy in Britain* (London, 1965); and L.G. Matthews, *History of pharmacy in Britain* (London, 1962). For further information consult P.H. Thomas' account of "Professor Theophilus Redwood (1806-92)' in Stewart Williams, *Glamorgan Historian,* vol III (Cowbridge, 1966).

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Questions and Answers

Members are encouraged to add their comments on the questions or answers for possible inclusion in future issues of *Pharmaceutical Historian.* Please quote reference number — Editor.

Vol. 13 No. 2, June 1983

No. 8301. Gascoigne's Powder.

The New Dispensatory, London, 1753, lists Gascoigne's (sic) Powder as a synonym for Bezoardic Powder, and gives the following formulae:

Pulvis Bezoardicus.
Take of
Compound powder of crabs claws, one pound;
Oriental bezoar prepared, one ounce.
Mix them together.

Pulvis e Cancrorum Compositus. London.
Take of
The tips of crabs claws prepared, one pound;
Pearls prepared,
Red coral prepared, each three ounces.
Mix them together.

Edinburgh.
Take of
Crabs eyes prepared,
Red coral prepared, each an ounce;
Black tips of crabs claws prepared, two ounces.
Mix, and make them into a powder.

The author notes that Bezoar "notwithstanding the addition it made to the price, it added nothing to the virtue of the medicine", and states "for both the crabs eyes and claws are by themselves more effectual than any composition of them with pearls and coral".

W.A. Jackson

Tradescant Exhibition

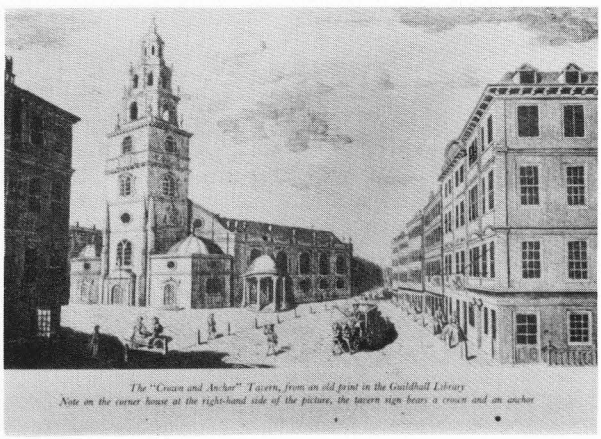
During May Her Majesty The Queen Mother officially opened the Tradescant Garden at St Marys at Lambeth where the Tradescant Trust is developing a museum of Garden History. The garden in which stand the tombs of the John Tradescants is opposite the P.S.G.B. headquarters at No. 1 Lambeth High Street, London and members visiting the headquarters are reminded that the Tradescant Exhibition, recently opened by the Marquess of Salisbury, may be seen within St Marys Monday to Friday between 11 a.m. and 3 p.m. and on Sundays between 10.30 a.m. and 5 p.m.

Joseph Black

The Royal Scottish Museum recently published the proceedings of a symposium held in 1978 to commemorate the 250th anniversary of the birth of the 18th-century chemist Joseph Black, who developed the concepts of latent and specific heats. The publication, one in the Royal Scottish Museum series, comprises eight papers (69 pages) and is available from the Royal Scottish Museum, Administration Office, Chambers Street, Edinburgh EH1 1JF price £4.00 plus 50p postage and packing.

Foundation Lecture 1983

This issue contains the first part of Dr T.D. Whittet's lecture on "The Crown and Anchor and The Arts and Sciences" given to a "full house" and continuing the high standard of previous lectures in the series. Once again the Society was indebted to E. R. Squibb & Sons who sponsored the event and provided superb hospitality aided by P.S.G.B. staff. Without such support there is no way in which the Society could arrange such functions.



The "Crown and Anchor" Tavern, from an old print in the Guildhall Library. Note on the corner house at the right-hand side of the picture, the tavern sign bears a crown and an anchor.

Foundation Lecture 1983: Crown and Anchor and St. Clements 1753.

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Foundation lecture 1983 Part 1

The Crown and Anchor and the Arts and Sciences

By T.D. Whittet

The Crown and Anchor Tavern is renowned in pharmacy as the place where some of the meetings which led to the foundation of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain were held.

It is not generally known, however, that it was also the venue of many meetings and other functions concerned with the arts and sciences, especially with pharmacy and medicine.

Some of those meetings led to the foundation of numerous other organisations including University College London, the original London University, and the London Mechanics Institute, now Birkbeck College.

As Macfie[1] stated the precise location of the Crown and Anchor building is by no means certain. An engraving of J. Maurer dated 1753 shows the tavern sign hanging from house No. 188 on the corner of Arundel Street and the Strand. See P1.

The area was at one time the site of the house and grounds of the Bishop of Bath and Wells. In the reign of Edward VI it passed to Lord Thomas Seymour of Sudeley, High Admiral of England, and thence to the Crown. Soon afterwards it was sold to the Earls of Arundel for £41-6-8d. and then passed to the Duke of Norfolk.

Arundel Street which derived its name from Arundel House was built between 1678 and 1682 and the Crown and Anchor Tavern was probably erected during that time or shortly afterwards.

Horwood's plan of 1799 (Fig. 2) shows that the tavern was situated behind the houses on the South side of the Strand with a frontage to Arundel Street but with a narrow passage to the Strand at site No. 189.

Although on the plan the front of the passage appears to be open, an enlargement of the 1753 engraving shows a closed front with the sign on house No. 188, presumably just in front of the entrance to the tavern. (Fig. 3).

The original tavern is said to have been demolished and rebuilt in 1790.[1] Between 1799 and 1807, as is shown by a comparison of Horwood's plan of 1799 with his revised one of 1807 (Fig. 4), the tavern had been extended parallel to the Strand and through to Milford Lane so it was obviously a very large building. The revised plan shows the passage to be closed and Fig. 5 shows that it has a portico covering part of the pavement.

An annotation in the *Chemist and Druggist* of January 1977[2] mentioned the founders of the Pharmaceutical Society coming out from the dark passage into the light of the Strand.

Even as early as 1720 Strype[3] described the tavern as "a large curious house with good rooms and other conveniences fit for entertainment." After its enlargement it must have been gigantic.

Its name is said to have been derived, at least in part, from the anchor of St. Clement's. Chancellor[4] wrote that Kent's hideous altar-piece of St. Clement's which Hogarth mercilessly satirised, was removed in 1725 and placed in the vestry. From there it was taken to the music room of the Crown and Anchor on the nights when concerts were held. He commented "hardly, one supposes, as a source of inspiration."

The tavern contained one splendid room measuring 84ft x 35ft and was much sought after for dinners, club meetings and similar functions. One such great banquet was given to Charles James Fox in 1798 with the Duke of Norfolk in the Chair and no fewer than 2,000 people present. Dr. Johnson is said to have been a frequent visitor to the Crown and Anchor where he often dined and supped.

Many political meetings were held in the tavern which has been called a rallying point for Westminster electors.[1] In 1792 John Reeves founded the Crown and Anchor Society, often known as the Crown and Anchor Association. Its aims were set out in its prospectus as "preserving Liberty and Property against prepublicans and levellers," and it has said to have achieved considerable success. The opposition of the time considered it to be a government agency.

Other clubs having associations with the Crown and Anchor were:-

The King of Clubs, founded in 1801 by Robert "Bobus" Smith, which had a large Parliamentary membership including numerous well-known persons. It used to meet once a month for dinner and conversation.

The Constitutional Society, founded in April 1780, which held afternoon dinners to attract gatherings for its evening meetings.

The Athenian Club, "a society of gentlemen, men of great fortune, Members of Parliament, rich city merchants, philosophers and men of literature, who met for dinner and conversation."

The Western Circuit Club, of which William Pitt, the younger, was a member.

Of greater significance were the political associations of the tavern in the late 18th and early 19th centuries which were for the most part radical. Dinners were held to celebrate the fall of the Bastille and between 1780 and 1806 many meetings were held in support of Charles James Fox, M.P. for Westminster.

Chancellor[4] summarised these meetings "Here Johnson issued many of his unanswerable *Dicta;* Sir James Burdett here let loose his fiery invectives, here had been heard the persuasive oratory of Fox; here in 1806 the patriots' memory had been toasted by Sheridan; here at a later day O'Connell wrought his auditory to enthusiasm and Cobbett enunciated his common sense."

Dinners were also held at the tavern to celebrate the passing of the Bills for Catholic Emancipation and the Reform Bill. Also there, on March 3rd 1823, the London Greek Committee was formally constituted. It sent aid to the Greeks who were fighting for liberation from Turkish rule.

Macfie[1] wrote "In the years following the Great Reform Bill, the Crown and Anchor Tavern remained an important centre of radical dissent. In 1837, the London Working Men's Association, founded by William Lovett and Henry Hetherington to unite the intelligent and influential sections of the working classes and to obtain for them equal political and social rights, convened at the Tavern a public meeting to draw up a petition to Parliament in demand of rights which became, the six points of the People's Charter.

In 1845/6 crowded meetings were held at the Crown and Anchor in support of the repeal of the Corn Laws."

The Crown and Anchor had several associations with music.[5] The Academy of Ancient Music probably arose out of the Crown and Anchor Concerts which may have started in 1710 but the Academy itself, originally called the Academy of Vocal Music, was not founded until 1726.

Academy in this context does not mean a teaching institution but what we should now call a learned society. It was a body of distinguished professionals and amateurs formed primarily for the study of old music, especially that of the 16th century.

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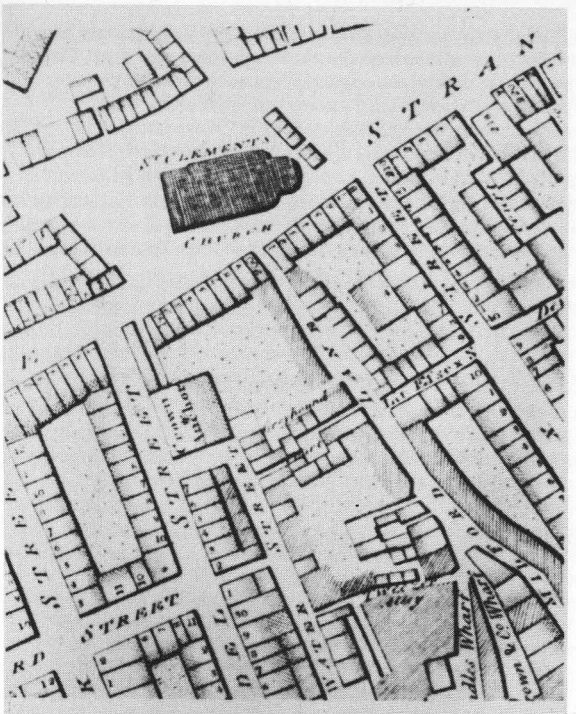


Plate I

Horwood's Plan, 1799, showing the site of the Crown and Anchor Tavern.

Fig. 2

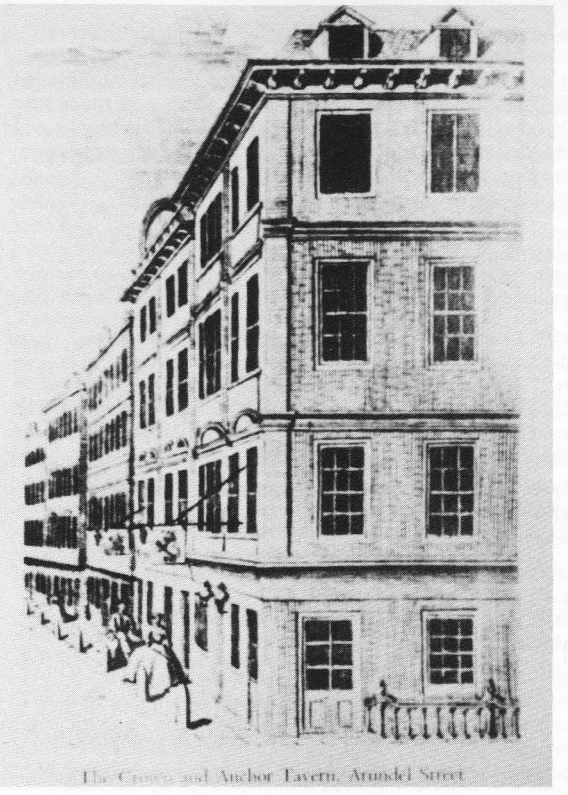


Fig. 3

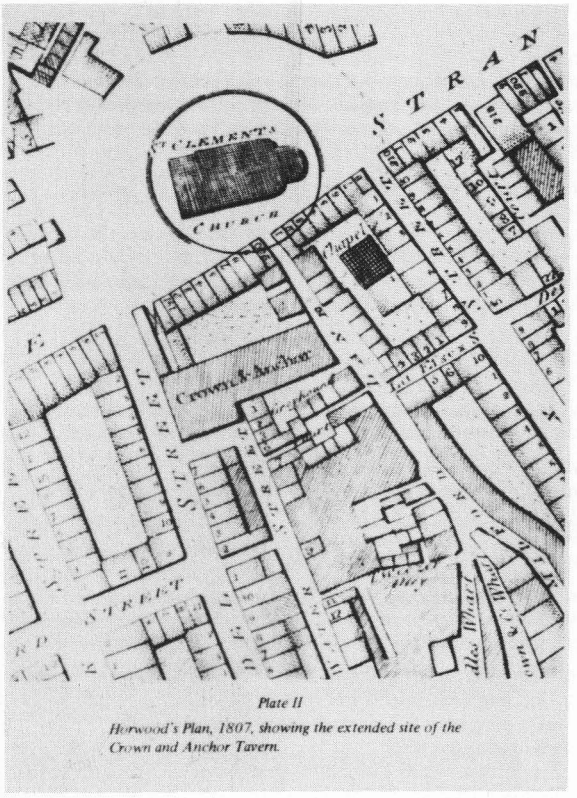
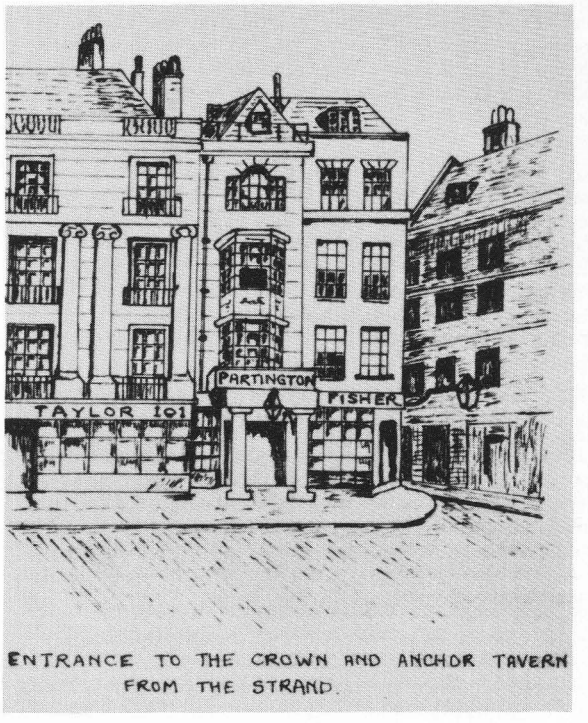


Plate II

Horwood's Plan, 1807, showing the extended site of the Crown and Anchor Tavern.

Fig. 4



ENTRANCE TO THE CROWN AND ANCHOR TAVERN FROM THE STRAND.

Fig. 5

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The Academy met every fortnight at the Crown and Anchor and the choristers of St. Paul's and of the Chapel Royal took a major part in its concerts. The meetings continued regularly at the tavern until 1784 when they moved to Freemason's Hall until the demise of the Academy in 1792. A body of the same name has been established recently and its concerts can frequently be heard on Radio 3.

In 1738 the Society of Musicians was founded at the Crown and Anchor by subscribers to a "fund for the support of decay'd musicians and their families." Arne, Boyce and Handel were founder members. The Society received a Royal Charter in 1790 and is still active.

In 1775 Lee, an actor, and others formed a group which performed both poetical and musical entertainment in the Tavern. Sometime after 1790 the *Anacreontic Society* was founded at the Crown and Anchor. Its members were mainly merchants and bankers and they met every fortnight for music and supper. Hadyn was a guest of the Society in January 1791 but it came to an end in 1794.

Other musical societies to meet there were the *Madrigal Society*, the original *Glee Club*, the *Abbey Glee Club* and the *Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Catch Club*.

Promenade concerts were held at the Crown and Anchor as long ago as 1839. They were described as "Promenade Concerts a la Valentino" and were conducted by a member of the Philharmonic Orchestra.

In 1847 a concert was given to celebrate the laying of the Foundation Stone of St. Martin's Hall, built as a testimonial to John Hullah's pioneer work in the teaching of sight singing. Fig. 6 shows a programme of concert of 1843. Macfie[1] gave much information about the political and Elkin[5] about the musical associations of the Crown and Anchor, but, remarkably, did not mention the medical or pharmaceutical ones.

In the latter part of the 18th century, as the apothecaries began to devote most of their time to the practice of medicine more and more of pharmaceutical practice began to be taken over by the chemists and druggists. The apothecaries, in the words of the surgeon-apothecary J.M. Good, F.R.S., became concerned about "the encroachment which chemists and druggists have, of late, made on the profession of the apothecary, by vending pharmaceutical preparations and compounding the prescriptions of physicians."[6]

To counteract that trend he called a general meeting of apothecaries at the Crown and Anchor on June 17th 1794 at which about 200 practitioners attended. They formed themselves into a society called the General Pharmaceutical Association of Great Britain. "Pharmaceutic" is sometimes used in the title instead of "Pharmaceutical". They appointed a committee of 20 which was to meet in the Buffalo Tavern, Bloomsbury Square. Another general meeting was held in the Crown and Anchor on July 31st 1794.

Good's "History of Medicine as it relates to the Profession of the Apothecary" was published at the request of the committee.[6]

In 1795 the Association presented a petition to Parliament in which it proposed the setting up of a General Pharmaceutical Court, thus anticipating some of the functions of the Pharmaceutical Society and its Statutory Committee. Nothing appears to have come of the petition, however, and the Association appears to have broken up shortly afterwards leaving the activities of the chemists and druggists unhampered.[7]

By the beginning of the 19th century the chemists and druggists were said to have almost supplemented the apothecaries in public favour as practitioners of pharmacy and apothecaries and chemists. e.g. Charles Maxwell, Apothecary and Chemist (1795). Sometimes they even omitted the word apothecary. e.g. Richard Stavely, Druggist & Chemist (1769) and White and Gipps, Druggists (1760). All of those persons were members of the Society of Apothecaries.

In 1802 the apothecaries and chemists and druggists were brought together to protest against the Medicine Act of that year. That Act extended the duties, stamps and licences, which had previously applied only to nostrums, to many remedies and articles in common use. A meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor on Oct. 12th to coordinate protests against the Act.[8] Bell and Redwood[7] reported "An Association having been formed and a Committee appointed, a Petition of Apothecaries, Chemists and Druggists was sent to the Lord Commissioners of the Treasury." It was signed by numerous prominent members of each of those occupations.

The final report of the Committee was published in 1803 and although it was not successful in obtaining the total repeal of the Act it secured modifications which removed the chief objections. The Association lapsed until 1829 when it was revived as the General Association of Chemists and Druggists of Great Britain.

In 1812 a government enactment "excessively increased the price of glass" and at a meeting convened on July 3rd at the Crown and Anchor by some apothecaries including George Mann Burrowes, a body called the Associated Apothecaries and Surgeon-Apothecaries of England and Wales was formed.[9] Burrowes became its first President. Under the influence of Anthony Todd Thomson, first Professor of Materia Medica at University College London and at the School of Pharmacy, and R.M. Kerrison, F.R.S., a Royal Apothecary, the scope of the committee's objects was enlarged and J.M. Good and James Upton, later Master of the Society of Apothecaries, joined it.

The Association's objects were to frame a Parliamentary Bill with the following aims:-

"To constitute a fourth medical body which should be empowered to examine Apothecaries, Surgeon-Apothecaries, Accoucheurs, Midwives, Dispensing Chemists, and Assistants;

to prohibit the practice of Medicine, Surgery, Midwifery or Pharmacy by uneducated persons;

to vest in the new body the prerogative of granting licences to such persons as they should find on examination to be competent, which licences should be annually renewed on payment of a fee, the examiners possessing the powers of withdrawing them from persons whose conduct and been immoral or discreditable and to found a school for the education of pupils in medicine, surgery and pharmacy, etc."

These aims forshadowed some of the powers of the General Medical Council which was to be set up a little over 50 years later. Futher meetings were held in the Crown and Anchor and they led to a draft Bill which eventually became the Apothecaries Act of 1815. Burrowes was succeeded as President by James Parkinson, after whom the disease of Parkinsonism was named.

McNemeny[10] commented "After the Apothecaries Act of 1815 the medico-political bodies were silent for a while, since everyone was prepared to give the new Act a chance. The Association of Apothecaries and Surgeon-Apothecaries, however, continued in being to a watching brief."

In 1830 William Gaitskell formed a Metropolitan Society of General Practitioners. Thomas Wakley, the first Editor of the Lancet, found the title general practitioner unacceptable and poured scorn on the organisation which he called "The Society for the Degradation of English Surgeons."

Only a year later, however, Wakley convened a meeting to form what he called the London College of Medicine which was in reality an amended form of Gaitskell's Society.

The inaugural meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor on May 5th 1831 and a committee was appointed which prepared a report. It was published in full by the Lancet[11] and among its recommendations were:-

1. Any person legally qualified to practise medicine in the British Isles was eligible, without examination, for the Diploma of the London College of Medicine. Recognition of foreign qualifications was to be at the discretion of the Senate.

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2. Diplomates of the College were to be denominated Fellows and to enjoy the title of Doctor.
3. The College was to be governed by Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Senate.
4. The Senate was to be directed to apply to Parliament for an Act to incorporate the College.

Professorships were to be established. Not unnaturally, the Lancet compared the College favourably with the other medical bodies. Despite this enthusiasm the College soon petered out.[10]

An anonymous letter in the Lancet of 1831 argued against the indiscriminate use of the title "Doctor".[13] In view of the current disputes about that title the 1831 correspondence is of especial interest.

Despite the failure of the College Wakley sponsored the formation of a British Medical Association, choosing for its leader George Webster, a practitioner of Dulwich. That body must be distinguished form the present Association of that name which developed from the Provincial Medical and Surgical Association founded by Charles Hastings in Worcester in 1832.

Wakley at first favoured that Association but objected to the word Provincial being in the title.

By 1836, however, he was convinced that it was not sufficiently democratic and he hoped that his new body would have a nation-wide appeal. It does not appear to have done so, however, as McMenemy[12] reported "Several of these medico-political bodies came into being between the years 1837 and 1840, remaining strictly independent both of the Provincial Medical Association and of Webster's Association, which by reason of its title "British" was even better qualified to seek their affiliation.

During that period the Association of Apothecaries and Surgeon-Apothecaries was reorganised into the Association of General Practitioners of England and Wales. McMenemy believed that this was stimulated by the Apothecaries act Amendment Bill of 1833. Little is reported about it until it was revived once more, in about 1844 under the original title to oppose another Amendment Bill.

The leader was then George Bottomley of Croydon who had seceded from Webster's Association. He favoured enfranchisement of the general practitioner within the Royal College of Surgeons. He had the support of Wakley and advertised "a great meeting of the profession" but this was never held as the Amendment Bill was dropped and the Association appears to have disbanded.

Bell and Redwood described the fate of the Association of Apothecaries and Surgeon-Apothecaries:- "The Association continued to meet periodically for some years, their chief attention being directed to the suppression of irregular and unqualified practitioners, but their efforts were not seconded by the medical bodies, and although the Association comprised upwards of 3,000 members, their labours in this praticular ended where they began.

The formation of an Association of Apothecaries, distinct from the chartered Society of Apothecaries, especially as many of the members belonged to both bodies, is an anomaly the object of which is not easy to comprehend; It appears that this Association was, in fact, a revival of that which was formed in the year 1794, and which was also unconnected with the three constituted medical bodies; but as its attention was directed to a new object, namely, that of ensuring the competence of Medical and Pharmaceutical practitioners of all ranks, and establishing a fair system of remuneration, the result ought to have been more successful than it was. But the want of unity in the profession itself, and the party spirit which prevailed throughout the controversy, diverted the influence into so many channels that a partial failure was the natural consequence."

The British Medical Association

In 1855 the Provincial Medical and Surgical Association changed its name to the British Medical Association and became the acknowledged co-ordinating body of the medical profession, a position it has held ever since.

McMenemy[12] discussed the influence of Hastings and Webster, the leaders of the abortive and successful British Medical Associations on the organisation of medicine and commented "Why did the one succeed and the other fail? they were both men with insight, altruistic leaders with flair for organisation. Each of them radiated friendliness and knew the technique of the festive board:- committees and members might squabble fiercely in plenary session but in the presence of their genial leader, would link arms for the singing of a glees. Hastings cared for the provincial doctors, Webster for those of the metropolis. In fact they had much in common, but certain factors helped the former to gain the ascendencey. His society was comprehensive whereas Webster restricted effective membership to those in general practice.

He stressed the fact that their main aim was "friendly and scientifc." Webster's Association was certainly friendly but it was exclusively political.

Hastings realised the importance of his society possessing its own periodical while his rival made use of the columns of *The Lancet*.. He appreciated the missionary importance of meeting each year in a different city. Webster relied on the Crown and Anchor, and his policy throughout was conciliatory to the existing institutions; Webster was too closely tied to Wakley's apron strings.""

It thus seems that the Crown and Anchor played an important part in Webster's Association and was probably the venue for its meetings although the first was held in Exeter House, Strand.

The Foundation of the Pharmaceutical Society

Although there were individuals known as chymists or chemists, and many variants of titles derived from the Greek word "pharmacon" in pharmaceutical practice for at least 250 years before the foundation of the Pharmaceutical Society, apart from the druggists memberships of the Grocer's Company, it seems that their first collective organisational activity was the previously mentioned association formed with the apothecaries to oppose the Medicine Act of 1802. That committee was revived in 1829, probably at the Crown and Anchor and it resolved "that a Society be formed to be entitled the General Association of the Chemists and Druggists of Great Britain for the purpose of obtaining a judicial constriction of the Medicine Stamp and Licence Act." When it succeeded in having the Act amended it broke up.[7]

In 1841, however, a Bill was introduced into Parliament which would have placed the chemists and druggists under the jurisdiction of a body on which they were not to be represented and in the election of which the apothecaries would have had the largest number of votes.

A circular supported by 28 pharmaceutical firms was issued and a meeting was convened at the Crown and Anchor on Feb. 15th. The issuers of the circular and those present at the meeting included chemists and druggists and apothecaries still practising pharmacy. Among them were Allen, Hanburys and Barry, Savory, Moore and Co., John Bell and Co., Godfrey & Cooke, Corbyn & Co., Evans & Lescher and Richard Battley. Of these Battley, Savory and Moore were apothecaries whilst the firms of Allen and Hanbury and Corbyn & Co., had been founded by apothecaries but were then being run by chemists and druggists. At the meeting a petition was drawn up against the Bill and the formation of a society was proposed.

Following a series of further meetings and a Pharmaceutical Tea Party", the latter held at the House of John Bell, another meeting was arranged at the Crown and Anchor and held on April 15th. Among resolutions passed there was the following, proposed by William Allen, F.R.S. and seconded by John Bell "That for the purpose of protecting the permanent interests, and increasing the respectability of chemists and Druggists, an Association be now formed under the title of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain." Nearly 100 signatures were obtained and those persons constituted themselves as Members of the Pharmaceutical Society

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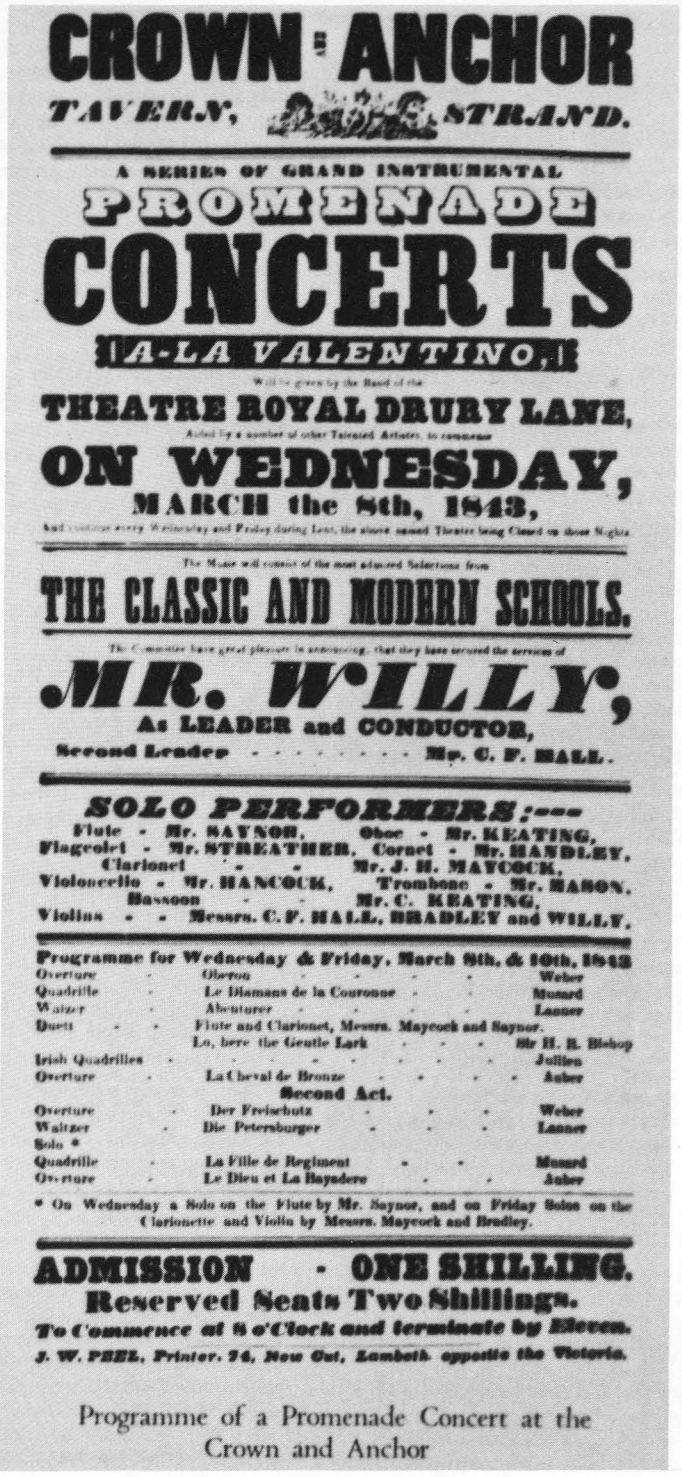

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Flageolet - Mr. STREATHER, Cornet - Mr. HANDLEY,
Clarionet - - Mr. J. H. MAYCOCK,
Violoncello - Mr. HANCOCK, Trombone - Mr. MASON,
Bassoon - - Mr. C. KEATING,
Violins - - Messrs. C. F. HALL, BRADLEY and WILLY.

Programme for Wednesday & Friday, March 8th, & 10th, 1843

Overture	Oberon	Weber
Quadrille	Le Diamans de la Couronne	Musard
Waltzer	Abenturer	Lanner
Duett	Flute and Clarionet, Messrs. Maycock and Saynor.	
	Lo, here the Gentle Lark	Sir H. R. Bishop
Irish Quadrilles		Jullien
Overture	La Cheval de Bronze	Auber
	Second Act.	
Overture	Der Freischutz	Weber
Waltzer	Die Petersburger	Lanner
Solo *		
Quadrille	La Fille de Regiment	Musard
Overture	Le Dieu et La Bayadere	Auber

* On Wednesday a Solo on the Flute by Mr. Saynor, and on Friday Solos on the Clarionette and Violin by Messrs. Maycock and Bradley.

ADMISSION - ONE SHILLING.

Reserved Seats Two Shillings.

To Commence at 8 o'Clock and terminate by Eleven.

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Programme of a Promenade Concert at the Crown and Anchor

Fig. 6

of Great Britain. At a further meeting held in the same place on June 1st. William Allen, a chemist and Charles James Payne, an apothecary, were elected President and Vice-President respectively.

At a meeting at the tavern on Nov. 1st. 1841, the subscribers to the fund raised to oppose the Apothecaries Act of 1815 voted to transfer the balance of the Fund, £862-18-2d. to the new Society. On May 17th. 1842, the first anniversary meeting of the Society was held there.

In 1945 a Bill was introduced in Parliament which would have prevented anyone practising as an apothecary unless he were registered by a Council of Health. A protest meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor on June 2nd. which lead to exemptions for chemists and druggists. The Bill was eventually abandoned. That was probably the last pharmaceutical meeting held at the Crown and Anchor as the Society acquired its headquarters in Bloomsbury Square in 1842.[7]

(To be concluded)

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The Aldersgate Dispensary and the Aldersgate Medical School

By LESLIE G. MATTHEWS

John Soakley Lettsom, Quaker physician, is well known for his founding of the Medical Society of London in 1773 and which in 1973, celebrated its bi-centenary. Less well known perhaps is his sustained interest in the medical treatment of the sick poor in an area of the City of London where in the 18th century slums of the worst kind existed — an area where there were no facilities other than poor law infirmaries or workhouses if illness prevented the poor from gaining a hard won livelihood.[1]

Lettsom was born in 1744 in Little Vandyke in the Island of Tortola, one of the Leeward Group. He was sent to this country for his education and graduated in medicine in Edinburgh. After a short period of medical practice in Tortola he returned to Europe, taking a Doctorate in Medicine at Leyden University in 1769. He settled in London where he married in 1770. At first he lived in Eastcheap in the City, not far from the residence of John Fothergill, a well reputed physician of the time, practising in Bloomsbury, and who greatly befriended him. Lettsom's Quaker upbringing helped to render him sensitive to other people's needs and this led him to enlist the help of his friends to found a Dispensary in Aldersgate Street in the City of London in 1770. The building, No. 36 on the East side of Aldersgate, was built by the Family of the Earls of Thanet and later became the town house of the Earls of Shaftesbury. It was described as a "most delightful fine Edifice!" Converted into a tavern in 1736, it became a Lying-in Hospital for Married Women in 1750, to serve the wives of Poor Tradesmen and others. (Contrary to the views recently expressed about the inadvisability of having men-midwives, the Lying-in Hospital had two, Dr. Samuel Watkins and Dr. Moses Griffith, with Mr. William Ball as apothecary to supply necessary medicines.)[2]

Though this Aldersgate Dispensary later claimed it was: "The First Dispensary established in the Kingdom"[3], there had been earlier Dispensaries in London, notably those started in 1687 by the College of Physicians of London and which continued until 1724; and that founded in 1769 by Dr. George Armstrong in Red Lion Square, Holborn, "For the Relief of the Infant Poor". There was an even earlier dispensary in the City of London, in St. Martin's Lane off Ironmonger Lane, established by a Society not now traceable in 1688, the first physicians there being a Dr. Bateman and Dr. Philip Guide, a French refugee. Dr. Guide continued there until 1715.[4]

The important distinction between the other Dispensaries noted and the Aldersgate started by Dr. Lettsom and his friends was that patients should be treated when necessary *in their own homes*, an entirely new idea. Out-patients ordinarily received treatment at the Dispensary. Rules made show Lettsom's talent for organisation.

A physician was to attend daily at 9.0 a.m. and a surgeon at 10.0 a.m. The first physician to the Dispensary was Dr. Nathaniel Hulme (1737-1807) who took up his post at the opening of the Dispensary in 1770. Hulme had been a naval surgeon. He was hard working and made a success of the new enterprise. The second physician was Lettsom himself in 1773. The demand for the services of the medical staff was so heavy that Lettsom could claim in 1775 that within the past three years he had attended nearly 6,000 cases. Dr. James Sims was the third physician, engaged in 1774. Sims became the long-term and almost irremoveable President of the Medical Society of London. At first no surgeon was appointed but it was soon clear that a surgeon's services would be essential and George Vaux, a friend of Lettsom, was chosen. Besides the physicians and the surgeon there was an apothecary who also acted as registrar. Each physician received an honararium of £100 a year, as did the surgeon but the apothecary had to content himself with £80.

By 1775 the one house was insufficient and another was rented.

Within a year of his appointment to the Dispensary Lettsom had published his *Medical Memoirs of the General Dispensary, London, for the years 1773 and 1774.*. (London, 1774) In these he reported upon the cases treated, gave a table of the diseases and deaths in a year and set out a list of formulae of selected and useful medicines, some of which were standard preparations in the current *London Pharmacopoeia*. He gave no dosages but only methods of manufacture. A year later he published his book *Of the Improvement of Medicine in London on the Basis of Public Good* (London 1775). In this gave his reasons for starting the Dispensary as a charity. Subscriptions were to be low, a physician would attend daily, except Sundays, and would give advice to out-patients and visit patients living within a reasonable distance in their homes. A resident apothecary would receive the letters of recommendation from the governor of the dispensary and would compound the prescribed medicines. Because facilities already existed elsewhere, venereal and lunatic cases would not be admitted to the dispensary. By 1775 there were 800 subscribers.

The continued heavy increase in the Dispensary work prompted Lettsom to make plans for a complete new dispensary.[5] These were meticulously drawn up, the size of rooms carefully set out and space allowed for baths. (Lettsom was closely connected with the establishment of the Margate Baths for sea bathing)[6] Services were to be available to those subscribers, their friends and families who resided within three miles of Temple Bar. The Committee would attend at a London Coffee House three days a week to receive subscriptions. It was estimated 12,000 patients a year could be relieved. Domestic servants could have limited treatment. Lettsom compiled a budget of the annual expenses totalling £1,620 a year, comprising 3 physicians and 3 surgeons £600; an apothecary £80; 2 assistants £80; secretary £40; Collector £100; drugs, etc. £500; house rent £120; and miscellaneous £100. Already the Dispensary required three times as much attendance as did the then largest hospital in London. Lettsom proposed the appointment of Consulting physicians to supplement the work of the staff. Patients were to be seen only upon a governor's letter — substantial subscribers were to be governors. When discharged patients were to sign a letter to be taken to the governor who had recommended them. This was formal: *"Having been by your recommendation received as a patient under the care of... and discharged this day I beg leave to return my most humble and hearty thanks for the same". Signed...*

Lettsom looked ahead to the use of the Dispensary as a School of Medicine, saying that to his knowledge no public place in Europe was available for this and that the young practitioner was at a loss to acquire suitable instruction. He thought that if courses of lectures could be given and students could make visits with lecturers in both medicine and surgery they would have the opportunity for both diagnosis and treatment. As we shall see, this idea was adopted, if not completely, by Dr. Henry Clutterbuck when he succeeded Lettsom as a physician at the Dispensary.

Action was taken upon Lettsom's proposals and a new building erected. It was noted in the *Medical Register* for 1780: " A convenient building has lately been erected for this charity in Aldersgate Street". There were then four physicians, Hulme, Lettsom, Sims and Adair Crawford; one surgeon, George Vaux and

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Aldersgate Dispensary from an engraving by T.H. Sheppard, 1839.

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an apothecary, William Slater who had replaced the first apothecary, Robert Bodker.

Lettsom's vision of the Dispensary serving as a Medical School became a reality when Dr. Henry Clutterbuck joined the staff there in 1807. He with four friends, Dr. Birkbeck, Dr. Lambe, Mr. Norris and Mr. Young began a series of lectures for students. This gained impetus from the implementation of the Apothecaries' Act of 1815. The Act required that from 1st August of that year any man not already in practice must in order to practice as an apothecary be examined in the "Science and practice of Medicine" and satisfy the examiners of the Society of Apothecaries, i.e. if he attended, prescribed and dispensed medicines for gain in a medical case. The members of the then new College of Surgeons (founded 1800) soon found out by reason of prosecution by the Society of Apothecaries under the Act, that although they could attend patients and charge for *cork and bottle* of an medicine supplied to a patient, they could not charge for the *medicine* unless they were members of licentiates of the Society. Many therefore took the examination and became licentiates of the Society of Apothecaries, LSA, thereby holding the double qualifications of "Surgeon and Apothecary".

The Act required the would-be apothecary to take training in medicine. Some hospitals such as St. Bartholomews and the London were not keen to train apothecaries in medicine. To get over the difficulty the Society of Apothecaries decided to recognise 15 months attendance at a Dispensary as evidence that the candidate for their licence had passed through a sufficient course of Practical Medicine.

The lectures were well attended. Clutterbuck himself lectured on the Theory and Practice of Medicine and on Chemistry and Materia Medica. He held three course annually for over twenty years and was said to have had a thousand pounds as fees in a good year. Dr. Birkbeck took classes in Natural Philosophy and Lambe on Botany.

There was a crisis at the Dispensary about 1827-8, when the medical staff felt aggrieved by the action of the Committee of Management. Led by Clutterbuck who refused to submit to "insult and degredation" and the "petty Tyrany of lay rulers", the whole of the professional staff resigned though the medical officers continued to visit patients in their homes. In commenting upon this the *Lancet* stated: "Since that period the Dispensary has gradually dwindled down from a high and palmy reputation to a kind of refuge for the destitute of the profession..." Many years elapsed before it was back in favour.[8]

This was too sweeping a statement; the Dispensary attracted some good men, e.g. Felix Salmon who was there for five years after 1834. He had been one of the founders of St. Mark's Hospital, City Road, London, in 1833.

When the crisis happened the medical classes at the Dispensary ceased. Clutterbuck, with a Mr. Tyrrell, determined the School should be restarted. Together they set up a new Aldersgate School of Medicine which gained in reputation. Among the lecturers then appointed was Dr. Jonathan Pereira, M.D., F.R.S., a former apothecary at the Dispensary who had resigned this appointment in 1832. Pereira had begun to practice medicine in Aldersgate Street. He became a professor at the new Medical School, lecturing at first on Materia Medica, in which he became renowned throughout Europe, and he later succeeded Clutterbuck as lecturer in Chemistry. He too, fared well in the matter of fees and at his own expense built a new lecture theatre for the School. About 1840 he gave up his professorship there but continued to lecture at the London Hospital. In 1842 he was asked to lecture at the newly established School of Pharmacy of the Pharmaceutical Society in Bloomsbury Square and he was appointed Professor in 1843. His untimely death in 1853 was a grievous loss to pharmacy and medicine.

Medical Schools such as that at Aldersgate and those attached to Dispensaries like the one in Gerrard Street, Soho, in Bloomsbury and Westminster seem to have died out about the middle of the 19th century. Largely this came about because of the readiness of the older general hospitals to accept their responsiblities but also the growing importance of London University, and the North London Hospital (later University College Hospital) which the University took under its wing.

Though the Aldersgate School died out with the rest, the Dispensary continued to thrive. In 1844 its name was changed to "The Royal General Dispensary" by permission of Queen Victoria when she became Patron. The Dispensary remained in Aldersgate Street until 1850 when the lease of the premises expired. In that year a lease of No. 25 Bartholomew Close was taken, near to St. Bartholomew's Hospital and about a mile from its original situation. There was accomodation for offices and for the Resident Medical Officer. The freehold of Nos. 24 and 26 of the Close was purchased in 1857 and in 1879 the three houses were pulled down and a new building erected, partly occupied for the Dispensary and part let on lease, a useful source of income.

As early as 1921 there were proposals that the Aldersgate Dispensary should incorporate another Dispensary housed in No.19 Bartlett's Buildings, Holborn, and known as the Farringdon General Dispensary and Lying-in Charity. Local Holborn residents objected to this by letter and by a petition to the Charity Commissioners.

This Farringdon Dispensary: it was established in 1828 for the "Medical & surgical Relief of the Deserving Poor and for competent attendance to poor women at Childbirth". It had a resident Medical Officer and a Dispenser, with consulting physicians and surgeons, dentist and optician available. Including its home visits, its total services reached the number of 7,425 in 1920. Its lists of Honoraries and Consultants was formidable.

Both the Dispensaries were in financial difficulties when the proposals for incorporation were mooted but in face of the Holborn protests the Commissioners decided not to interfere and in effect said that both had better carry on and both would eventually decline if their finances got worse. From 1919 to 1921 both had incomes of £800 a year or less, and both were having to spend more than their incomes derived from payment by patients and from donations though both were receiving some support from City Companies and from individual subscribers. Before this period and for some time after, the Aldersgate Dispensary had continued to train fee-paying pharmacy students, including those wishing to take the Apothecaries' examination for Assistant in Dispensing.

The financial affairs of the Aldersgate Dispensary did not improve during the ten years from 1921 when the abortive proposals had been made in 1931 a further scheme recommending the virtual closure of the Dispensary was prepared by its Committee and submitted to the Charity Commissioners. At that time the number of patients seen annually had dropped from its high peak of 10,000 in 1912 to about 3,000. Under this new scheme the Committee would sell 24, 25 and 26 Bartholomew Close to St. Bart's Hospital and arrange for the Hospital to undertake its charitable work. This became partly effective as indicated in a *Lancet* paragraph of 10 September 1931:

"A City Dispensary. Under a Scheme which had been sanctioned by the Charity Commissioners the Royal General Dispensary in Bartholomew Close, London, founded in 1770 by John Lettsom, is to be merged with St. Bartholomew's Hospital. The transferred property consists of the freeholds of Nos. 24, 25 & 26 Bartholomew Close which is occupied partly by the Charity and partly by a tenant who pays a rent of £450. The dispensary is to occupy part of the hospital building at a rent fixed by a valuer and the medical and secretarial work will be done by the hospital in return for annual payment. Should it be no longer possible usefully to carry on the dispensary section of the charity, its clear yearly income will be transferred to the Hospital so long as the work of visiting out-patients at their homes is continued within the Dispensary's area". (*Lancet*, 1932 Vol. CCXXIII, p. 593.)

Not until 1946 however, five years after the Dispensary buildings were completely destroyed by enemy action was a final scheme

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agreed. It was sanctioned by the Charity Commissioners only on 8 June 1948. The Dispensary was amalgamated with St. Bart's Hospital as at 31 December 1946. The Hospital was to arrange for visits to Patients' homes as judged necessary by the Hospital Governors and to undertake the medical and secretarial work; the Hospital would perpetuate the name of the Royal General Dispensary by inscribing a Department, ward or room in its name; and would take over at the amalgamation date all the Dispensary's assets and liabilities, including the important asset of the site and the value payment for war damage. It was envisaged that new arrangements for the patients formerly treated by the Dispensary would be varied once the impending 1948 National Health Service Acts became effective.

Records:

Of the early records of the Dispensary few have remained. The Charity Commissioners files contained reports for the years 1897 and 1920. The 1897 report includes lists of the Governors, and the Physicians and surgeons from 1870 to that year. It was still its proud boast that it was "The first Dispensary established in this Kingdom." In the report for 1920 King George V was named as Patron. Expenditure was then far ahead of income. Much the best information is to be sought in Lettsom's *Medical Memoirs* and Abraham's *Lettsom: His Life*... Of the later documents preserved there are in the keeping of the Archivist at St. Bartholomew's Hospital four volumes of the Dispensary's Committee Minutes dating from 1894, a Cash book from 1910 to 1948 and a Ledger book to 1938.

The Cash Book shows the principal sources of income — rent of part of the Bartholomew Close premises (after the Dispensary had moved there in 1850 and where its new building was erected in 1879), annual donations by City Companies and from firms who traded in the neighbourhood, and private persons; in addition, the contributions made by the patients themselves, recorded as "Patients' pence". The chief disbursements were to the attending physicians and surgeons, to the resident medical officer, the secretary, dispenser and other staff, besides payments for drugs and dressings. The physicians received £40 a year, paid quarterly.

During the period 1910-1948 and probably from the time when the Dispensary came to Bartholomew Close, within a hundred yards of the Hospital, the physicians and surgeons in attendance at the Dispensary were already members of the Hospital Staff. The post of the resident medical officer to the Dispensary continued to 1932, the year when the affairs of the Dispensary came into the hands of the Hospital for administration. After that year a few annual subscriptions continued. The Hospital charged for the cost of drugs and services it gave to the Dispensary charity and for the remuneration to the medical staff. For example, in 1946 there had been expended by the Hospital for the Dispensary a total of £233, comprising £200 as salary to the medical officer, £12 for drugs and dressings and part of a porter's remuneration, £21.

The charity side of the Dispensary received an income from an investment in 2½% Consolidated Funds. Over the previous years to 1945 it had grown to £624.

From the Committee Minute books from 1894 it is clear that the affairs of the Dispensary were in good hands, one member of the Committee, Mr. Deputy Pepler of the City of London Corporation, who was Chairman for many years, served for almost 50 years until his death in 1902. An annual Festival Dinner in support of the Dispensary was usually attended by the Lord Mayor. The Minutes record that the resident medical officer had apartments in the Dispensary premises and that he received a salary of £150 a year. After some years' service he applied for and was given permission to take limited private practice provided it did not conflict with his duties at the Dispensary. In 1897, on the death of Mr. Parnell, the then senior surgeon, it was agreed that one surgeon only would be needed in future. Later that seems to have been the case with the medical side. A complete list of the physicians and surgeons who served the Dispensary from its commencement in 1770 to 1914 was printed in 1915.

Later names include Dr. K. Dickinson, Dr. Norman Moore, Dr. Ormerod, Dr. H. Morley Fletcher, Dr. W. Langdon Brown and Dr. Hugh Thursfield among the physicians. The surgeons included C. Gordon Watson, J. J. Purnell, and F.B. Jessett. For many years the resident medical officer was Dr. J. Kearney. In 1902 a new dispenser had to be appointed and C. T. Rutter was chosen from several applicants: he was to receive a salary of £84 a year, later increased to £96. It is a comment upon the views of the Committee at the time that although many women dispensers had applied for the post, the Committee considered them ineligible. For a number of years the Dispensary accounts showed a small surplus and it was the accumulation of these surpluses that provided the funds for the investment noted above.

The Dispensary building in Bartholomew Close was demolished by bombs during World War II. New wards for St. Bartholomew's Hospital have been built on the site. The Aldersgate area has been completely transformed over the years and there remain no traces of what at Lettsom's instigation became a flourishing Institution that more than fulfilled his optimistic hopes.

Although St. Bartholomew's took over funds and property formerly held by the 'Aldersgate' there appears to be no recognition of Aldersgate either by naming a ward or bed by that name.

References:

1. Jackson, J. Lettsom: *His Life, Times, Friends and Descendents.* London, 1933
2. Maitland, Wm. *History of London, III,* 764
3. Lettsom, J. C. *Fugitive pieces, Medical Texts and Ms.* Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine.
4. Matthews, L. G. Philip Guide, Doctor of Medicine, c. 1650-1716. *Pro. Huguenot Soc.* 1974, *XXIII,* No. 4, 345-53
5. Lettsom, J. C. *Fugitive pieces, III,* 200-14. When the Westminster Dispensary was founded in 1774 the Aldersgate Rules were taken as a model.
6. Lettsom chaired a meeting to discuss the proposal in July 1771 at the London Coffee House, Ludgate Hill.
7. Henry Clutterbuck died 24 April 1856 at the age of 89 though in *The Lancet* 1890, II, 110, his birth year was given 1770. He had long been the oldest surviving Fellow of the Medical Society of London, of which he had been President. (*The Lancet* 1856, *I,* 490-1)
8. *The Lancet* 1956, *II,*213
9. *Pharm. J.* 1852-3, *12,* 409-16 There is mention of an Italian remedy attributed to Dr. Pereira or at least sold under his name. The bottle, c. 1856, bore its name in raised letters — see Watson, B. and Betty, in *Nineteeth Century Medicine in Glass,* 1973, 130, comment: "His remedies were an open secret and it is believed that a New York City medicinals formulator was responsible for the pictured bottle"
10. These books were kindly made available by the courtesy of Dr. Nellie J. M. Kerling, sometime archivist to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. (Ref. OH/6/2/1-6)

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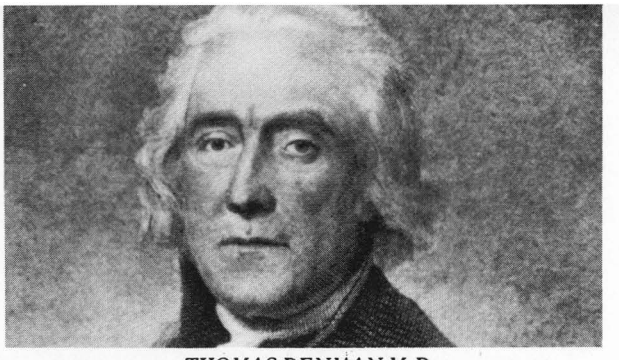
One of Bakewell's Greatest Sons

By J.G.L. BURNBY



THOMAS DENMAN M.D.
From a print in the library of the Royal Society of Medicine

Two hundred and fifty years ago on June 27th, Thomas Denman, the famous man-midwife was born at Bridge Street House, Bakewell. H.R. Spencer said of Denman that he had written, "the most splendid work on midwifery in the English language, whether regarded from the point of view of the format, paper, printing and illustrations of the work; the learning and knowledge it exhibits; or the ordered, lucid and judicial manner in which that knowledge is presented". Until the end of the 18th century, midwifery was the most despised branch of medicine and few physicians of repute could be inveigled into practising it. The two Scotsmen, William Smellie and William Hunter, had done much to redress the balance but the real triumph belongs to Thomas Denman, "Derbyshire born and Derbyshire bred, But very far from weak in the head."

His father, John, actually hailed from the neighbouring county of Nottingham where he was born in 1693 at Bevercotes near Retford. The Denmans were a well respected armigerous family, John's father being fourth cousin to Anne Hyde, wife of James II and mother of two queens of England.[1] At the age of 17, John Denman was sent to Mansfield to be apprenticed to John Farrer, apothecary, for seven years; the premium was the not inconsiderable sum of £40. The exact date of John's arrival in Bakewell is not known, but probably it was in 1720 in order to take over the apothecarial practice of young William Bossley who died that year. In any case it is known that he married a local girl, Elizabeth the daughter of Anthony and Hannah Buxton on 6 May 1726.

Their first child, Ann, was born two years later, to be followed by Joseph and Thomas, and two sets of twins. Surprisingly for those days one of each of the twins survived. The two boys were sent to the local grammar school and then trained to be apothecaries by thier father. Joseph inherited the practice when John Denman died in 1753, but Thomas soon left Bakewell to travel far though he never forgot his stay-at-home brother or the town of his birth.

In his memoirs Thomas Denman wrote that when he arrived in London in September 1754, he had never been away from home for a week, "living on a homely diet and hardly ever out of bed at ten o'clock at night, a hungry, sharp-set lad with some learning, though my learning was very incomplete." He "had a very competent knowledge of Pharmacy, and knew as much of the diseases as the frequent reading of Sydenham's works and of a few other books could give" him.[2] In his pocket he had £75, three-quarters of the money bequeathed to him by his father, out of which he had to pay 10s.6d. a week to a hairdresser in Dean Street, Soho, for board and lodging, ("and a hard bargain he had too"), the fees for instruction at St. George's Hospital, and two courses in anatomy.

After six months his money was gone, so he decided on a naval career. He went to Surgeons' Hall for examination, and to his relief passed as "surgeon to a ship of the sixth rate". He was soon posted to H.M.S. Lancaster. Over the next four years he saw service off the West African coast and in the West Indies. Then in 1759 he transferred to the Edgar, a 60 gun ship, on which he was in the action which captured the Centaur and the Téméraire, and was at the sieges of Belle Isle and Havannah. By now his finances were much improved as he had a salary of about £200 a year, to say nothing of £190 in prize money.

In 1763 the Edgar was paid off and so ended what he described as "a wandering though not in general a disagreeable life of nine years". He was determined to advance further in his profession and so attended more courses in anatomy, and significantly, one in midwifery. The following year he made the decision to set up in practice in Winchester, but was markedly unsuccessful. When his savings had been lightened by £200, he decided to return to the capital. The next few years were very hard going indeed, in spite of gaining an M.D. from Aberdeen in 1764, so much so that he even tried unsuccessfully to rejoin the Navy. However he slowly won through. One could say that 1770 was the turning point in his career. The previous year he had been appointed man-midwife at the Middlesex Hospital, and now he and William Osborn purchased apparatus in order to give lectures in midwifery. Happily these courses proved very popular, and at the age of 36 he decided to embark on marriage.

The newly married couple soon moved to fashionable Queen Street (now Denman Street) off Golden Square, and Thomas was able to write that by 1778 he was earning £600 a year from his practice and £150 from lectures. He indulged in a "new chariot with a coachman in a handsome livery and a footman behind, which where beyond my wish or inclination but I thought them due to my presnt reputation. In all other respects we observed the most strict frugality".

In his life's work he will be remembered for two things. The induction of premature labour where the mother's physical condition made it advisable, something which had not been successfully carried out before, and secondly his observations on puerperal fever. At this period a frightenly high proportion of mothers died of the fever especially if delivered in one of the unhygienic hospitals. Denman published his first essay on the subject in 1768, and a much fuller account in 1801, in which he emphasised the contagious nature of the disease. He pointed out that it could be transmitted only too easily to the mothers by the nurses and midwives something which had been noted for the first time by Alexander Gordon of Aberdeen five years earlier. The work of these men and others, such as Charles White the son of another provincial apothecary, the English Contagionists as they came to be known, prevented the occurrence of the devastating epidemics of puerperal fever in Britain which were only too frequent in the large maternity hospitals of Paris and Vienna.

Although their paths had diverged widely, Thomas and Joseph Denman had kept in close touch, and when Joseph died in 1812, his brother raised a memorial to him and his parents in Bakewell church. Like Joseph, Thomas lived to be over 80 but died suddenly at his home in Mount Street on 25 November 1815. Fortunately we have a vivid word picture of Thomas's appearance from the pen of his son-in-law, Matthew Baillie, himself a famous anatomist. "In person he was firm and strongly made, about five feet eight inches in height; his hair was perfectly white, his complexion fresh and vigorous, his eye, which was blue continued remarkably clear and bright, his hearing was unimpaired, and his teeth continued entire to the very last". A man who must have inspired confidence in his patients — and it was not misplaced.

1. Anne Hyde was the great-granddaughter of Francis Denman, squire and rector of West Retford.
2. Denman's autobiographical memoir is to be found in the preface of the seventh edition (1832) of his "Introduction to the practice of Midwifery", with additions by "B" who is thought to be Matthew Baillie.

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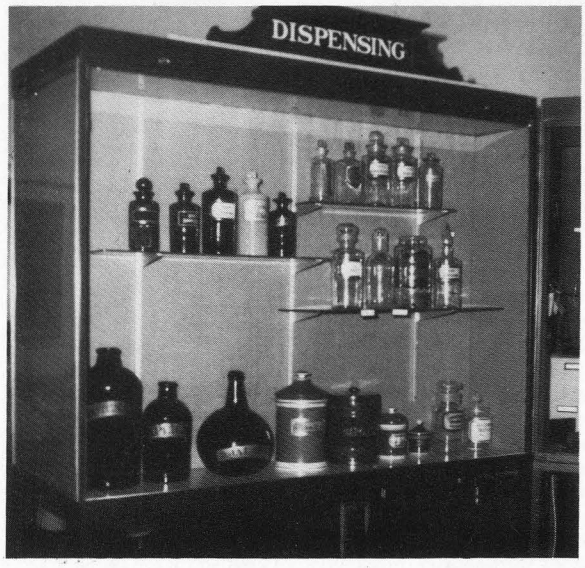
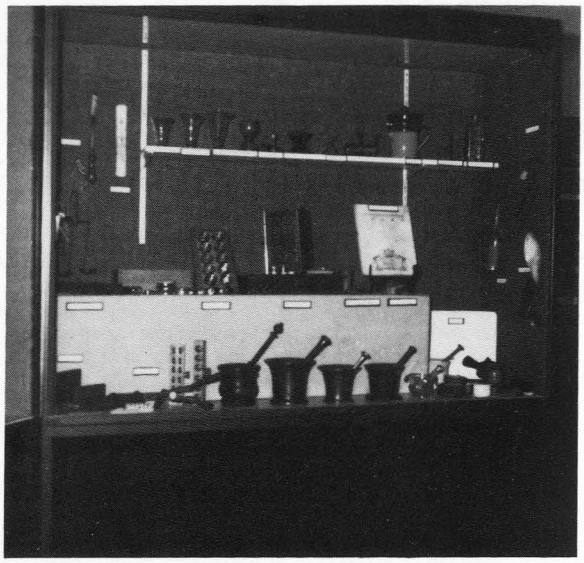
Leeches and Lancets





To celebrate the bincentenary of public health provision in Whitehaven, an exhibition entitled 'Leeches and Lancets' was on display at Whitehaven Museum from June 13th to July 16th and was seen by over 7,000 visitors. It was officially opened by the chairman of the Regional Health Authority, Professor Bernard Tomlinson, and contained more than 400 items from the collection of Manchester pharmacist W. A. Jackson who is a member of BSHP and a regular contributor to the *Pharmaceutical Historian*. The exhibits ranged in date from the 1730's to the 1950's, and included medical and surgical instruments, dispensing equipment, earthenware drug jars, carboys, shop rounds, infant and invalid feeding items, domestic medicine cabinets, sick room equipment, proprietary medicines, advertising material, phrenological items, and a materia medica cabinet of the 1870's with most of its specimens still in excellent condition.

In 1783, Whitehaven Dispensary was opened at 107 Queen Street by Dr. Joshua Dixon. His annual report for that year records the treatment of "scorbutic eruptions (Whitehaven was an important port at this time and most of these patients were probably seamen who endured long voyages on a poor diet), dropsy, consumption, and 350 cases of smallpox."

Dr. Dixon was a firm believer in vaccination, and it is noteworthy that in 1801 there were only nine cases of natural smallpox but 277 patients were admitted with scorbutic eruptions.

Eventually, the building in Queen Street became inadequate, and in May 1830 the Infirmary in Howgill Street was opened. This served Whitehaven for many years, and it was not until 1925 that Whitehaven Castle became the Castle Infirmary. Since the inception of the National Health Service, a new district general hospital has been built at Homewood near Hensingham, but the old Castle Hospital is still in use, having been redeveloped for geriatric and younger disabled patients.

Illustrated are two of the cases in the exhibition.

A Unique Privilege

Some members of the Society were privileged to see an exceptional collection of drug jars when they visited Mobberley Hall as guests of Dr. Wilkinson during June.

Dr. Wilkinson, pictured above, described various items in the collection and allowed members to examine them. The afternoon was rounded off by a lively discussion, on the lawn, with tea and cakes kindly provided by Mrs. Wilkinson. Everybody voted the event an extremely successful one and the President thanked Dr. and Mrs. Wilkinson for their hospitality.

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Diary Dates 1984
February 2: Professor R.I. McCallum, University of Newcastle upon Tyne "The History of Industrial Medicine".

March 29: Foundation Lecture, Dr. B.T. Davis "Dr. William Withering and the Foxglove".

Annual Election of Committee Members
Nominations for the annual election should be submitted in writing to the Secretary on or before Feb. 1 1984. The members of the Committee due to retire in 1984 are:- Dr. J.G.L. Burnby, Dr. W.E. Court, Dr M.P. Earles and Dr. J. Lane.

Cairo Conference
The Fourth International Congress on the History of Pharmacy is to be held at Dar El-Hekma, Cairo on November 20-22 1984. Conference and banquet fees are 165 U.S. dollars for "participants" and 140 U.S. dollars for accompanying persons. Details are available from The Arab Society for The History of Pharmacy, P.O. Box 53 Bab El-Louk, Cairo, Egypt.

An American Index
The American Institute of the History of Pharmacy has published a 71 page Index. The Food and Drug Administration Annual Reports 1950-1974, prepared by E.M. Shoemaker of the Emory University . Copies are available from the Institute, Pharmacy Building, Wisconsin 53706 (price $4.00).

The John Tradescants
The elder John Tradescant (*c* 1570-1638) and his son John (1608-1662) the famous gardeners, collectors of curiosities and importers of exotic plants, supervised some of the great gardens of the period and were responsible for introducing many new plants into Britain. Their own botanic garden at South Lambeth became the centre of horticultural interest in Britain and their collection of rarities, The Ark, was the first public museum in the country. It subsequently formed the basis of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. In a book *The John Tradescants* to be published in March 1984 Prudence Leith-Ross traces the Tradescants' travels, the gardens they created and the plants they grew and introduced. She also provides a detailed account of The Ark, from its establishment in 1629 to its acquisition, under somewhat questionable circumstances, by Elias Ashmole.

320 pages, 14 plates, 9 line illustrations publishers are Peter Owen Ltd., 73 Kenway Road, London SW5 0RE, price £20.00.

Book List
Dr. Nicholas Dewey, 19 Great Ormond Street, London WC1N 3JB offers a price list of Pharmacopoeias, Dispensatories published in the 18th Century. The list also includes sepia reproductions of paintings of alchemical-pharmaceutical subjects and some sheet music.

Apothecaries and their Lodgers
The Presidential Address, delivered on May 5, 1982 to the Section of The History of Medicine of the Royal Society of Medicine by Dr. T.D. Whittet: "Apothecaries and Their Lodgers, Their part in the development of the Sciences and of medicine" has been published by The Royal Society of Medicine, 1 Wimpole Street, London.

Your Opportunity to be In Print
At a recent Committee meeting it was pointed out that although few members can offer articles for the *Historian,* many must come across interesting "Snippets" which do not run to a full article but which contain information which should not be lost, for they may provide useful, helpful clues or information for other members' research work. The Editor agreed to try and make available space for such small contributions. The opportunity is yours!

Spring Conference: Short Papers
The Committee will shortly be considering the programme for the Spring Conference 1984. Members who would like to prepare a short paper (15-20 minutes) for presentation at the Conference should let the Secretary at York Place have a suggested title and a resumé of the paper.

The President's Badge

A gift from The Wellcome Foundation

Before a maximum audience in the Apothecaries Hall a new insignia of office was presented to B.S.H.P during the History of Pharmacy Session of the British Pharmaceutical Conference on September 14.

The badge was handed over by Mr. John Bowler, Wellcome's UK and Ireland zone general manager. Opening the ceremony he said "The links between the Wellcome Foundation and the history of pharmacy had always been of the strongest. Sir Henry Wellcome, joint founder of the company with Silas Burroughs in 1880, was renowned for his work in assembling books and objects related to the history of medicine and pharmacy. His enormous collection of historical objects enshrined in the Wellcome Museum of the History of Medicine, was now filling the fourth and fifth floors of the Science museum in South Kensington. Sir Henry's collection of books, manuscripts and illustrations, remained in the Wellcome Building in Euston Road and formed the nucleus of the great library of the Wellcome Institute of History of Medicine. The five historic pharmacies in the entrance hall of the Wellcome Building also bore witness to Wellcome's keen interest in the past "Which you both study and cherish". The charitable trust established by the terms of Sir Henry's will of 1936, the Wellcome Trust, annually devoted large resources to the history of medicine and pharmacy. During the academic year of 1981/82 the Trust expended the sum of £1,662,000 for that purpose alone.

"A further link with your Society came recently when your past President Dr Douglas Whittet, then Master of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries, in July presented the Apothecaries' 1983 Galen Medal in therapeutics to Dr John Vane, the Wellcome group research and development director and winner last year of a share in the Nobel Prize for Medicine". Mr. Bowler continued "Although the British Society for the History of Pharmacy has had an independent existence for sixteen years, with a previous history as the Pharmaceutical Society's Committee on the History of Pharmacy going back fifteen years before that, your chairmen and (since 1967) your presidents have never had any insignia or badge of office to mark their honourable position. When the Wellcome Foundation was approached by your Joint Secretary, Mr. Arthur Wright, to ask us to donate a presidential badge, we were prepared to give a sympathetic ear. The hearing was all the more sympathetic because Mr Wright was himself on our staff for some years, until he left us in 1958 to join and later to edit and publish *Chemist and Druggist.*"

Mr Wright then sought the design advice of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths. Through the courtesy of their librarian, Miss Hare, he was put in touch with the distinguished young artist and craftsman, Dr Kevin Coates. Dr Coates had for some years been well known for his sensitive design of jewellery and indeed of musical instruments. In 1981 he held a most successful exhibition of his work at Goldsmiths' Hall.

"The badge he has designed for your presidents has as its centre a high-relief model in 18 carat gold of the 14th century apothecary who forms the logo on your Society's publication. The body of the badge is composed of carved glass of a faint greenish hue — an appropriate herbal reference — shot-blasted to give a smooth but frosted effect. At either side of the badge a ribbon of purple silk — suggestive of the colour of foxgloves — is mounted on silver sleeves. On the reverse of the badge a silver panel records that the Wellcome Foundation Ltd presented the badge to the British Society for the History of Pharmacy in 1983.

It is with the deepest gratification that in the name of Wellcome I hand this presidential badge to another of your past Presidents, Mr Leslie Matthews. No-one could be more appropriate than he to invest your current President, Dr William Court, with the badge. Mr Matthews was not only a founder member and the first chairman of the History of Pharmacy Committee of the Pharmaceutical Society in 1952, but he is also a former director of the Wellcome Foundation and worked with Sir Henry Wellcome during the founder's latter years. In handing the badge to Mr Matthews, I wish to convey from the Wellcome Foundation of today our warmest and most heartfelt good wishes for the prosperous future of the British Society for the History of Pharmacy".

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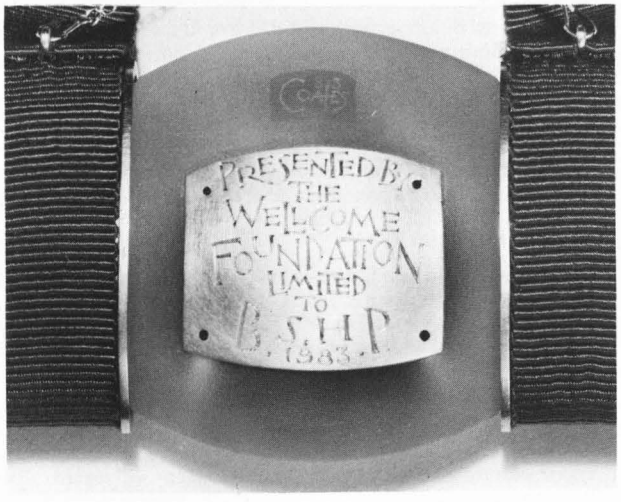
Mr. Matthews replied "Mr Bowler, it is with extreme pleasure and deep thanks that acting for the British Society for the History of Pharmacy I accept the Presidential Badge from you on behalf of The Wellcome Foundation. The Wellcome Foundation has continued the interest of its founder, Sir Henry Wellcome in encouraging the study of the history of pharmacy in many ways, and beginning with the presentation of a gold mace to the Pharmaceutical Society some yars ago it has made many gifts to pharmaceutical organisations, none, I venture to say, having the exceptional qualities and beauty of this elegant badge, designed and fashioned by Kevin Coates. The Gothic figure of the medieval apothecary depicted is enhanced by the use of modern techniques. In the same way pharmacy has advanced by drawing on the accumulated experience of the past, Mr Bowler, I can assure you that this badge will long be treasured. Our present President, Dr Court, and successive Presidents of our Society will be proud to wear this badge and I now have the honour of adorning Dr. Court with it. I shall ask Kevin Coates the designer to assist me. Before I do this Mr Bowler, may I thank you again and ask you to convey to the Directors of the Foundation the Society's warmest thanks for the generous gift."

After Mr Matthews and Dr Coates had invested the President with the badge Dr Court said it was a privilege to wear the badge of office. He felt that Dr Coates could not have achieved a more appropriate design and congratulated him on his work. Dr Court then thanked Mr Bowler and the Foundation for making it all possible.

1



Dr Kevin Coates

A chairman of the Crafts Council recently wrote "In the few years that have passed since he completed studies at the Central School of Art and Design and the Royal College of Art, Kevin Coates has made a place for himself in the very first rank of goldsmiths and jewellers." Since the exhibition in Goldsmith's Hall in 1981 he has carried out commissions including a gift to H.R.H Prince of Wales from the British Library, and items for the permanent collections of the Goldsmith's Company and the Victoria and Albert Museum. Very recent work includes a sculpture, celebrating 50 years of the Nissan Motor Co. for Tokyo, Japan and a foyer sculpture for Datsun House, Datsun UK Ltd.

Dr Coates, when interviewed, said he really enjoyed designing and making the B.S.H.P. Presidents badge, especially translating the woodcut of the apothecary into high relief in gold.

The ribbon is mounted on silver sleeves which, like the central figure are rivetted through the glass. The silver is covered by the silk, but both sleeves are edged with 18 ct. yellow gold. 18ct. gold is also the material used for the apothecary which is also held by concealed rivets into the silver plate at the back of the badge which bears the inscription.

2

3

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1. Silver panel on reverse.

2. Mr. Leslie Matthews receives the badge from Mr. John Bowler.

3. The President looks down approvingly as Mr. Matthews and Dr. Kevin Coates adjust the ribbon.

4. Dr. Kevin Coates in his studio.

(Photographs 1, 2 and 3 courtesy Editor, Chemist and Druggist).

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Obituary

Lothian Short On October 13 in Ealing Hospital Agnes Edith Lothian-Short FPS a founder member of B.S.H.P. At the funeral service at Golders Green Crematorium on October 21 Mr. Desmond Lewis read an appreciation which had been written by Leslie G. Matthews. He wrote: "We are here today to honour a dear friend and colleague and I have been invited to say how much we loved and appreciated Agnes Lothian Short, whom I shall refer to as Nan. Her father, John Lothian, was a pharmacist who, like some others at the end of the nineteenth century, had a private school for teaching pharmacy. His was in Glasgow and later in Edinburgh. Both Nan and her brother John had their training in pharmacy at the Heriot-Watt College in Edinburgh. Their home was then at Portobello near Edinburgh.

After qualifying in 1926, having served an apprenticeship in Edinburgh, Nan took an appointment at the pharmacy of H. W. Fowler in Redhill, Surrey. Later she became a representative for a firm of babyfood manufacturers, travelling the Home Counties.

At the beginning of the 1939-45 war Nan joined the Vere Street, London, staff of Allen & Hanburys. As war work she took on the strenuous task of a voluntary ambulance driver in London, her duties being chiefly at night, hazardous enough with the blackout in force.

When the post of Librarian of the Pharmaceutical Society became vacant in 1940, she was appointed on the understanding that she would obtain a qualification as a librarian. This she did in 1944. Two years later she represented the Pharmaceutical Society at a meeting of Medical Librarians at Yale, U.S.A. Her task as head of the Society's Library meant reorganising the lay-out there, planning new sections to deal with the new books on antibiotics, nutrition and chemotherapy. There were scores of new publications once paper was available and printing got into its stride after the war scarcity. Besides the ordinary work, requests for information came in frequently from pharmacists needing rehabilitation after their war service; an extra load that had to be carried.

Nan became interested in pharmaceutical pottery of all kinds. She joined the English Ceramic Circle, as I did about the same time. Meetings were then held in private houses where collections were on view. It was then that we both got to know Geoffrey Howard and gained a better appreciation of the historical value of collecting English delftware drug jars. Howard had published his book on English Drug Jars in 1931, but few other articles had appeared. Nan's interest increased and she began to acquire for the Pharmaceutical Society a considerable amount of material that has proved to be perhaps the finest Historical Collection of pharmaceutical items of all kinds in Britain. The collection is now world renowned. The Wellcome Collection is larger, but lacks many of the choice examples of general articles used in the pharmacy. It was hard work getting even a small budget approved for purchases and we had many talks about how best the funds could be spent. What made it harder was that some members of the Council of the Pharmaceutical Society saw no purpose in such expenditure.

Once the Collection began to be appreciated gifts came in, especially when the Council agreed to set up a History Committee in 1952. Nan was its first Secretary and continued as a member until the Committee was dissolved when the British Society for the History of Pharmacy was formed in 1967. Nan became a valued member of that new committee until her resignation in 1980. Unfortunately she could never be persuaded to accept the office of President of the British Society for the History of Pharmacy, although invited many times to do so.

Nan took great pains over her writing, but writing for publication did not come easily to her, as she told me when there was an idea that a catalogue of the jars and mortars in the Society's Collection might be compiled for publication.

Her own publications on drug jars began with a lengthy scholarly article in the *Connoisseur Yearbook* for 1953 on "Vessels for Apothecaries" and within two years she had published further articles on specialised types of decoration on pharmacy jars, Cherubs, Saints, etc., and on mortars and bell-founders. Later she was invited by the late Sir Harry Jephcott to write up his personal collection and she also contributed articles on the Boots collection.

It was in 1955 that Nan, with Sir Hugh Linstead, were elected the first British members of the International Academy of the History of Pharmacy.

Her marriage to the late Reg Short (G R A Short) in 1955 brought happiness to both and, I think, greatly widened her interests. With him she made many visits abroad, for he was recognised by the World Health Organisation as a specialist in his own field of Flavouring Materials. By that time Nan had become the first British member of the International History of Pharmacy Association, formed by the German-speaking countries. She frequently took part in their meetings. It brought her not only satisfaction, but lasting friendships. Only a fortnight ago at an Italian Conference I was asked by two professors, one from Paris, the other from Yugoslavia, about her welfare and this has happened frequently at other conferences.

She was essentially a town lover, and once told me "My feet are always happiest on pavements".

She delighted in witty company and shared in the joy of others. Nan's friendship, once given, was solid, but some did not find it easy to get to know her well enough to appreciate her good qualities. She went out of her way to help any serious student, even if at first he or she was diffident about seeking her advice. On her retirement in December 1967 as Librarian and Keeper of the Historical Collection, the Council of the Pharmaceutical Society decided she should be given the title of Emeritus Keeper of the Historical Collection in recognition of her outstanding work in connection with it.

As many will know, her last years have been racked with pain and after her husband's death in June 1980 life became a great burden. It was eased as far as possible by the unfailing care of her sister-in-law, Mrs Lothian, and the devoted friendship of Miss Doris Jones, whose regular visits and help brought interest to her life.

Nan will long be remembered by her wide circle of friends, by her former colleagues and not least by every visitor to the Pharmaceutical Society's Headquarters in Lambeth who appreciates the Historical Collection there. Many will regard this as her permanent memorial."

At the November committee meeting the President reminded members of the great contribution Mrs. Lothian-Short had made to B.S.H.P. and the history of pharmacy and he asked members to stand in silence in rememberance of her.

Macdonald On September 14 in Canada Gilbert-Harper Macdonald FPS, 99 Esmond Road, Bedford Park, London W.4. Mr. Macdonald retired from the Wellcome Foundation Ltd in 1981 and became consultant archivist to the company and he wrote and lectured on Sir Henry Wellcome and his collection. Mr Macdonald was the national chairman of the Multiple Sclerosis Society. At the memorial service on October 24 in St Columba's Church of Scotland, London Mr. John Walford, general secretary of the Society described Gilbert Macdonald as a man who brought much happiness to a wide circle of friends.

Norton On August 29 Professor D. A. Norton, Perrymead, Bath. Professor Norton was head of the School of Pharmacy, Bath University when he retired in 1981. A B.S.H.P. member for many years, he took a keen interest in the collection of artefacts exhibited in the School of Pharmacy.

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Foundation lecture 1983 Part 2

The Crown and Anchor and the Arts and Sciences

By T.D. Whittet

MISCELLANEOUS MEDICAL MEETINGS

Surgeons Protest Meetings
On May 8th. 1797 a meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor by a committee of surgeons to oppose a Parliamentary Bill which proposed to change the Company of Surgeons into a College[14]. In 1825 a meeting was convened in the Tavern by Thomas Wakley to oppose a new Charter of the Royal College of Surgeons and to protest against the "nepotism" which he thought was rife in the College[10].

About 20 years later on Jan 29th. 1844, there was another protest meeting at the Crown and Anchor by members of the College who were not nominated as Fellows under the new Charter of 1843 [15].

The Society of Licentiate Physicians
One of the earliest medical societies to meet at the Crown and Anchor was the Society of Licentiate Physicians founded in 1764. Its members met once a fortnight at Old Slaughter's Coffee House to converse about the prevailing diseases and once a quarter they dined at the Crown and Anchor [16 17].

The Friendly Medical Society of the Society of Apothecaries
In 1725 some members of the Society of Apothecaries founded the Friendly Medical Society, mainly a dining club. Its meetings were held in various London taverns. The first I have found to be held at the Crown and Anchor was in 1784 and several were held there between then and 1792 after which it became the most frequent venue and remained so for many years. The bill for 24 people who dined on Oct. 10th. 1784 was £11.2s [18]. Stanesby Alchorne was invited to a dinner there on Sept. 16th. 1800. It was addressed to him at the Tower of London. Alchorne was Assay Master of the Royal Mint, then at the Tower. He was also demonstrator of plants at Chelsea Physic Garden [19]. The Society existed for over 200 years but is now defunct.

An Apothecaries' Court Meeting
After the Society of Apothecaries acquired its hall in Blackfriars in 1632 it was natural that meetings of the Court were held there and it was most unusual for them to be held anywhere else. On Sept. 28th. 1804, however, one was held at the Crown and Anchor [20]. This appears to have been an isolated instance and there is no apparent explanation for it.

A Grand Dinner of the Society of Apothecaries
The Lancet[21] reported that in 1834 a Grand Dinner of the Society of Apothecaries was held at the Crown and Anchor with the Master Mr. Nussey in the Chair. The latter was John Nussey, a Royal Apothecary, who was most unusual in having a daughter born to him during his year of office. The Court presented him with a piece of plate worth 25 guineas[22]. Perhaps the "Grand Dinner" was a special celebration of what must have been a very auspicious year for John Nussey.

A Protest Meeting of Apothecaries' Students
Following the Apothecaries Act of 1815 the Society became the examining body for general practitioners of medicine, granting the diploma of Licentiate of the Society (L.S.A.), now the Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery (L.M.S.S.A.).

On Jan 7th. 1833 a candidate Thomas Smith failed and took his failure very badly. He assailed the examiners in the columns of *the Lancet* and the *Medical Gazette*and a protest meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor on Jan 18th[23].

It appears that Smith was a trouble maker but that Mr. Watson, the secretary of the Court of Examiners, was in poor health and his illness had caused him to be rude to candidates. He was suspended and eventually replaced. Smith passed at a later attempt.

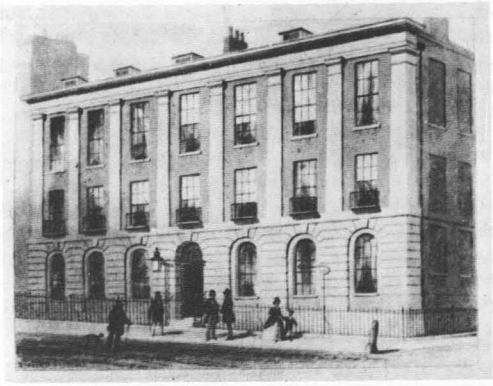

Fig. 7 Crown and Anchor, Arundel St. entrance 1853.

A Society for Supplying British Troops on the Continent
A document in the Society of Apothecaries' archives shows that on Nov. 18th. 1784 a meeting took place at the Crown and Anchor of the General United Society for Supplying British Troops upon the Continent for the purpose of sending extra clothing to the army and the navy. The Society of Apothecaries gave 20 guineas[24]

The Jennerian Society
On May 17th. 1803 the Jennerian Society marked Edward Jenner's 54th. Birthday with a celebration at the Crown and Anchor. About 300 persons were present, numerous toasts were drunk, many patriotic songs were sung and speeches made. It is reported that when Jenner rose to reply "acclamation echoed and re-echoed so that the candelabra swayed and glasses rattled on the tables whilst Jenner stood silent struggling with his emotion." When at last he could control his voice"... he gave "the shortest simplest and most sincere and gracious speech of the evening."

Among the speakers were Lord Gwydyr, Sir Charles Blicke, President of the Royal College of Surgeons, and John Coakley Lettsom. It must have been one of the most emotional functions ever held at the Crown and Anchor. At the Birthday Dinner held there the following year Jenner was unable to be present and it was described as a dull affair[25].

OTHER SCIENTIFIC SOCIETIES

The Royal Society Club
The Record of the Royal Society[26] stated that "the small group of pioneers to whose efforts the foundation of the Royal Society was due, had been in the habit of meeting together and afterwards repairing to a tavern to dine. This practice was continued after the Society had been formed and there are many references in the literature and letters of the time to these informal dinners.

When the Society had been fully established some of the members wished to continue these dinners but they desired somewhat more privacy than the "ordinary" tavern provided; steps were therefore taken to have a private room for the purpose. This led to the formation of a dining club in 1743, which was called at first the Society of the Royal Philosophers (sometimes the "Royals") but from 1795 onwards the Club is called by the name which it still bears, the Royal Society Club." *The Record* continued "Their meetings took place at first at the Mitre Tavern in Fleet Street and later when the Society acquired its own house in Crane Court, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand."

A full account of the history of the Club was published by Geikie[27] who gave the date of the first meeting as October 27th. 1743. His account of the dates on which the Club met in the Crown and Anchor differ from that of the *Record*. He stated that in 1780 "the

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most serious event was to choose another meeting place. The Royal Society were leaving their house in Crane Court, Fleet Street, where they had been established for 40 years, to apartments in Somerset House, placed at their disposal by the Government.

The Society's anniversay was held in these rooms on Nov. 30th. of this year. The Mitre was held to be inconveniently distant from Somerset House, and at the meeting on December 14th. to which no guests were invited, the question of shifting to another meeting place was discussed. It was resolved that the club, for the future, should meet at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, that the hour of dining should be 4 o' clock precisely and that the Treasurer should arrange with the Master of that Tavern to have dinner there on the following Thursday. The last two dinners of this year were accordingly held in the new quarters."

It seems likely that Geikie's account is the correct one. In either case the earlier meetings held at the Crown and Anchor would have been in the first tavern and from 1790 in the second one, since the Crane Court building was acquired by the Society in 1710 and remained its headquarters until the move to Somerset House in 1790.

Schofield[28] wrote that the Club's meeting places included "Dean's Court... then on to a French Restaurant, to the Devil's Tavern, next Temple Bar and to the Crown and Anchor in the Strand... The Royal Society Club then moved to Freemason's Tavern and to the Thatched House, entertaining such men as Franklin Reynolds, Wedgewood and other VIPs."

The club met and dined in the Crown and Anchor from 1780 until 1842. The charge was 3 shillings per head in 1780; 4 shillings in 1784; 5 shillings in 1798. In 1810 it was said that costs were steadily mounting and the charge became 8 shillings per head.

Among the founder members were the famous apothecary-scientist Sir William Watsom and Josiah Colebrook, one-time Master of the Society of Apothecaries who was the club's treasurer from its foundation until his death in 1775. Other apothecary members included William Thomas Brande and Samuel Foart Simmons. All of these persons were Fellows of the Royal Society as was a Chemist and Druggist member, John Maude of Aldersgate Street.

The guests who attended functions of the club included most of the famous persons of the time both from this country and abroad and from many spheres of activity — scientists, writers, artists, statesmen, etc. The list reads like an international *"Who was Who."* Many well-known foreign and British apothecaries were guests. *The Record* commented "For the first sixty years the Club met weekly throughout the year in this way it played an important part in providing the men of science of those days with opportunities for exchange of views and for the discussion of the problems on which they were engaged. Henry Cavendish, who is often described as avoiding the company of contempories was one of the most regular in attendance, and in 1784 attended every one of the fifty-three dinners which were held in that year."

The Geological Society of London

The Geological Society of London was founded in 1807 and held its anniversary dinners in the Crown and Anchor from 1832 until 1846. Sir Charles Lyle, the Society's founder secretary wrote of the 1932 event "On Friday I went to the General Meeting and the Anniversary Dinner of the Geological Society, at the Crown and Anchor — a splendid meeting." He listed those present whom he described as including "All the best geological residents in town."[29] The Society did not hold its ordinary meetings in the the Tavern, although it was originally founded as a dining club; by 1809 it was definitely a learned society in embryo. (Miss Rosemany Evans, Archivist to the Society, personal communication, August 1980).

The Society of Civil Engineers

The Society of Civil Engineers, sometimes called the Smeatonians, was founded in 1771. Its regular meeting place from 1792 to 1823 was the Crown and Anchor and were held every Friday during Parliamentary Sessions [30] [31].

The Botanical Society of London

Allen[32] reported that in September 1836 a meeting was called at the Crown and Anchor to form the Botanical Society of London and that the Society continued to meet there during the 20 years of its existence. It was remarkable in that it admitted women as full members from its foundation. It may be regarded as the forerunner of the Botanical Society of the British Isles.

LONDON UNIVERSITY MEETINGS

London University Council

University College London, the original London University, was founded in 1826 by a group of dissenters, prominent among whom were Thomas Campbell, the poet and writer, Lyon Goldsmid, a financier, Lord Henry Brougham, lawyer, statesman, politician and social reformer, the medical men Sir James Bell, George Birbeck, John Conolly, Anthony Todd Thomson and Edward Turner, who became the first Professor of Chemistry; and the Marquis of Lansdown. This group, many of whom were Edinburgh graduates, held a number of meetings, mainly in Brougham's chambers.

A Council was formed and its early meetings were held in the Crown and Anchor. At the first, held on Dec. 22nd. 1925, a resolution was passed that the proceedings of the General Meeting should be advertised in the *Times*, *Morning Chronicle* and *Globe*

At a second meeting on Jan 28th. 1826 it was resolved "That a Public Meeting of the shareholders be convened at the Crown and Anchor on Monday the 30th. at 1 p.m.

It was resolved at the fourth meeting on Jan. 28th. that "the analysis of the Deed of Settlement and a Circular requesting the attendance of the Proprietors at a Public Meeting to be held at the Crown and Anchor on Monday the 6th. be forwarded to each Proprietor."

At the sixth meeting on March 4th. it was decided that the Council should be specially summoned for Monday Feb. 8th. at the Crown and Anchor preparatory to the General Meeting of the Proprietors."

Hale Bellot[33] wrote:- "Public Measures. It was now time to proceed to business. A meeting was called for the 4th. of June at the Crown and Anchor Tavern. There were about 120 present, and Brougham was in the chair. It was not, he explained, a public meeting, but rather "a medium of communicating to the very intelligent persons by whom he was surrounded such information as he had the power of giving." He explained the scheme and reported the steps which had been taken in Parliament..." A committee of 35 persons was appointed.

Hale Bellot and Merrington[34] both reported the first public meetings on Jan. 30th. and Feb. 6th. It is clear that many of informal meetings and the first formal meeting which led to the foundation of London University were held at the Crown and Anchor.

London University Dispensary

A medical school was one of the original faculties of the new university. To arrange for clinical teaching facilities the Council decided to build a hospital to be under its immediate control. A hospital Committee was appointed to make plans for it. The name of the committe was later changed to the Dispensary Committee as it was decided to open a dispensary until the hospital could be built.

At the Council meeting on May 22nd. 1828 the Warden was authorised to obtain a house in the immediate neighbourhood of the University and one was found in George Street, Euston Square (now part of Gower Street) and the Dispensary was opened there on September 28th. 1828. It remained in use until the first University College Hospital was opened on Nov. 1st. 1834.

The history of the Dispensary[45] shows that several of the early meetings of the Committee were held at the Crown and Anchor.

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The London Mechanics Institution (now Birkbeck College)
Birkbeck College, now part of London University, was founded as the London Mechanics Institution at a meeting held at the Crown and Anchor on Dec. 2nd. 1823. The events leading up to its foundation have been discussed by Macfie, who wrote "The radical associations and excellent facilities made the Crown and Anchor Tavern a natural meeting place for the employers, craftsmen, mechanics and others who, on 11 November 1823, gathered there to discuss the foundation of a Mechanic's Institution. The proposal had come from J.C. Robertson and Thomas Hodgskin, editors of the *London Mechanics' Magazine*. These two had received the support of Dr. George Birkbeck, patron of the Glasgow Mechancis' Institution, of Francis Place, the radical reformer, and of many others. A preliminary meeting of some fifty persons had been held in the Tavern early in November, and a second private meeting, with Birkbeck in the chair, was held on 8 November. The public meeting on 11 November was attended by over 2000. A few persons who were drunk had to be excluded. The rest were sober, serious and enthusiastic, and the meeting proved a great success. Dr. Birkbeck was asked to take the chair. A proposal to found an institution was unanimously approved, resolutions were passed, a committee of fifteen was elected, with a sub-committee to draw up a constitution, and a subscription list was opened.

After a number of meetings, the committee called a general meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern on 2nd. December 1823. At this meeting a vote was taken and the London Mechanic's institution was declared to be there and then founded. A governing committee was elected, with Dr. Birkbeck as president. The Institution opened on 20th. February 1824 in Dr. Lindsay's Chapel in Monkwell Street, with an inaugural address by Dr. Birkbeck and a lecture by Professor Millington."

THE END OF THE TAVERN

As well as its many festivities the Crown and Anchor had its tragedy. The first host of the rebuilt tavern, Thomas Simkin, was a man of most ample proportions and, while superintending a banquet, he happened to lean against a balustrade which gave way beneath his weight and he fell from a considerable height to the ground and was killed[4].

In 1846 Douglas Jerrold founded the Whittington Club at the Tavern, and became its first president. He presented a picture of Dick Whittington listening to Bow Bells which was hung in the clubhouse. In 1845 the Club took over the whole premises[4].

In 1854 the building was destroyed by fire, thus bringing to an end the venue of a most remarkable series of events, several of which were of great significance in science, medicine and pharmacy.

The site formerly occupied by the Crown and Anchor Tavern is now occupied by Standard Telephone and Cable House and Canberra House.

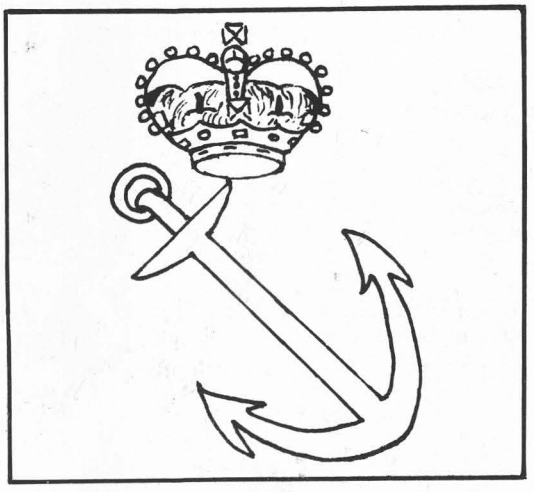

Fig. 8

Apendix

Larwood and Hotten[36] described the Crown and Anchor as "the well known badge of the Navy." An anchor with a stylised serpent appeared on the seal of the Society of Apothecaries Navy Stock and an anchor and a caduceus on the pennant of the Society's ceremonial barge[37]. Fig. 8 shows the sign board of the Crown and Anchor Tavern drawn from the earliest engraving.

Larwood and Hotten[36] also described an experimental dinner at the Tavern held by the Farmers' Society in 1800. Its purpose was "to ascertain the relative qualities of the various breeds of cattle in the kingdom." and "the dinner was planned and patronised by Sir John Sinclair and the execution entrusted to Mr Simpkins, the landlord of the Crown and Anchor who sent a tender of the most Brobdinagean dinner probably ever heard of. Twelve kinds of oxen and sheep of the most famous breeds, eight kinds of pork and various specimens of poultry were to bleed as victims in this holocaust to the devil of gluttony; the fish was only to be from fresh water, such as were entitled to British farmers; there were to be various kinds of vegetables, nine sorts of bread, besides veal, lamb, hams, poultry tarts and puddings, all of which were to be washed down by a variety of strong and mild ales, stout, cider, perry and British spirits." Tickets were one guinea each.

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Letters

The Denmans

In Dr. Burnby's article "One of Bakewell's greatest sons[1]" she referred to the memorial in the parish church. That memorial is the subject of a note in the National Index of Parish Registers[2] which states "An altar tomb, just East of the chancel records:

> John Denman, Apothecary of Bakewell, Father of Joseph and Thomas Denman M.D.D. Died 25th September 1752.

It is not often that a father is identified by reference to his sons and still rarer to find a record of the same person having been buried in two places, for in the chancel immediately to the left of the altar in the North Wall is a large mural tablet:

> "Within this Chancel were interred the remains of John Denman; a very able and honest apothecary in this town who died 25th September 1752. By his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Anthony Buxton, Esq. of this place he had five children, Joseph, Thomas, Sarah, Hannah and Mary. Joseph became an eminent physician and was for many years an active and intelligent magistrate in the neighbourhood; Thomas, a Physician in London, caused this tablet to be erected in the year 1815."

Evidently Thomas, a pioneer in obstetrics, who had established a great reputation for himself in London, had his father's body reinterred in the chancel, but modestly omitted a reference to the distinction of his own career. This omission was remedied on the bicentenary of his birth, by British obstetricians who placed a tablet immediately below:

> To commemorate the bi-centenary of the birth at Bakewell of Thomas Denman M.D. This tablet was placed here by British Obstetricians 27th June 1933.

It is in accordance with the best traditions of their profession that they recorded a birth rather than a death, which is quite exceptional for a church inscription[3].

The family produced another famous man. As stated by Dr. Burnby, Thomas Denman married in 1770. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Brodie and they had two daughters and a son, Thomas (1779-1854). The latter became Lord Chief Justice of England in 1832 and was created the first Lord Denman, a barony which is still in existence. There is a comprehensive entry about him in the Dictionary of National Biography[4]. In it John Denman is called a doctor, not an apothecary.

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